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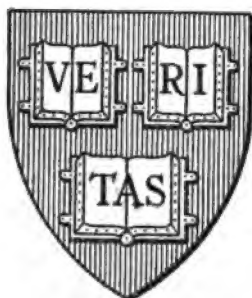
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Anal. p. 429

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

NEW SERIES, VOL. XIV.

OCTOBER 1900—OCTOBER 1901.



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PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.
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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY.

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

EDWARD E. HALE.
NATHANIEL PAINE.

CHARLES A. CHASE.
CHARLES C. SMITH.

NOTE.

Volume fourteen, new Series of the Proceedings, includes the proceedings of the October meeting in 1900, and the April and October meetings, 1901.

Reports of the Council, with accompanying essays, have been prepared by Samuel A. Green, Charles A. Chase, and George F. Hoar. Other interesting communications have been made by G. Stanley Hall, Horace Davis, Andrew McFarland Davis, George F. Hoar, Waldo Lincoln, William T. Forbes, Samuel S. Green, Charles Francis Adams, John Bellows, Frederic W. Putnam and George H. Haynes.

Biographical notices of deceased members have been prepared by Daniel Merriman, Edward E. Hale, George P. Winship, Francis Blake, George F. Hoar, Franklin B. Dexter, Samuel S. Green and Henry H. Edes.

A comprehensive index has been prepared by the librarian and his assistants.

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

ERRATA.

Page 10, line 26, for *France* read *Maine*.

Page 15, line 14, for *son* read *grandson*.

Page 63, line 32, for *1867* read *1868*.

Page 65, line 7, for *Joseph* read *Thomas*.

Page 65, line 7, for *Works* read *Work*.

Page 76, line 28, omit *twenty-nine nickel and copper coins*.

Page 256, line 34, for *Nathan* read *William*.

Page 342, line 2, for *Grimké* read *Legaré*.

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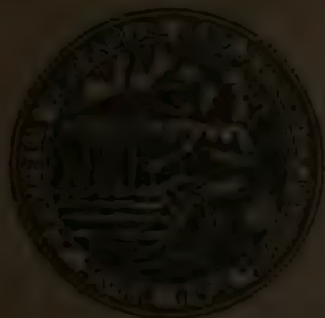
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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
American Antiquarian Society,

AT THE
ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN WORCESTER,

OCTOBER 24, 1901.



WILLIAMS BROTHERS & CO. PUBLISHERS,
PRESS OF CHARLES HAMILTON,
101 NASSAU ST. N.Y.
1901

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PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 24, 1900, AT THE HALL OF THE
SOCIETY IN WORCESTER.

THE meeting was called to order at 10:30 A. M. by the
President, Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY. The following
members were present:

Edward E. Hale, George F. Hoar, Nathaniel Paine,
Stephen Salisbury, Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard,
Edward L. Davis, William A. Smith, James F. Hunnewell,
Charles C. Smith, Thomas H. Gage, Edmund M. Barton,
Franklin B. Dexter, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green,
J. Evarts Greene, Henry S. Nourse, William B. Weeden,
Daniel Merriman, Reuben Colton, Henry H. Edes, Edward
Channing, George E. Francis, Frank P. Goulding, G.
Stanley Hall, John McK. Merriam, William E. Foster,
J. Franklin Jameson, Charles P. Bowditch, Francis H.
Dewey, Henry A. Marsh, Wm. DeLoss Love, William
T. Forbes, Edwin A. Grosvenor, Leonard P. Kinnicutt,
George H. Haynes, Charles L. Nichols, Waldo Lincoln,
John Noble, George P. Winship, George B. Adams, Austin
S. Garver, Samuel Uteley.

The report of the Council was read by Hon. SAMUEL
A. GREEN, of Boston, in connection with which Dr. Green
presented a paper upon "The Boston Massacre."

A sketch of the Life of Rev. Dr. Cyrus Hamlin was
read by Rev. DANIEL MERRIMAN, D.D.

In connection with the paper, Mr. SAMUEL S. GREEN said :—

Dr. Merriman has referred to the Hamlin mixture. I would like to say a word about this. As he has stated, Dr. Hamlin received the receipt for making it from Worcester. It was a prescription of Dr. John Green, who was a Councillor in this Society. It was given to him, as I have always understood, and as Dr. Hamlin says in one of his books, not by Dr. Green's brother, but by Alfred Dwight Foster,¹ who was for ten years a Councillor and for three years treasurer of this Society. Mr. Foster was a benefactor and a connection by marriage of Mr. Hamlin, and one of the latter's sons, who is now a professor in Columbia University, is named Alfred Dwight Foster Hamlin. Dr. Hamlin used this mixture largely in the incipient stages of cholera in Turkey in 1848 and 1855, and, as he says in a book published by him, in thousands of cases in 1865.² My friend, the late Edward Griffin Porter, our lamented associate, informed me that the mixture is to be had at all the barber shops in Turkey. The constituents of the compound are, as stated by Dr. Merriman, equal parts of laudanum, spirits of camphor and tincture of rhubarb. It is an interesting fact that such a medicine should have gone out, as it did, from this town, and been of such wide-spread and immense use in Turkey. Dr. Green told me how the medicine occurred to him. He was visiting the wife of the late Frederick W. Paine, who was a well-known member of this Society, and finding that in the remedy which he generally used for dysentery, there was an ingredient which did not agree with Mrs. Paine's constitution, had a happy thought that this combination, which is now so widely used, would serve the desired purpose in the case of his patient; trying it with perfect success on that occasion, he used it a great deal afterwards.

¹ Among the Turks, p. 312. ² *Ibid.*, pp. 307, 308.

Many of the older families in Worcester still use this medicine. It is prepared in two ways; in the way which Dr. Merriman has mentioned, and for lighter cases with paregoric as a substitute for laudanum. Dr. Hamlin told me that he had tried in vain to have the credit of the prescription given to Dr. Green; but the name of "Hamlin's mixture" originally used, has in spite of Dr. Hamlin's efforts been continued, and is still used in Turkey wherever the specific is employed.

Rev. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D., read a notice of the life of Samuel Jennison, late of Boston.

A sketch of the life of John Nicholas Brown, of Providence, was read by GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP.

A biographical notice by FRANCIS BLAKE, of John Elbridge Hudson, of Boston, was read by the Recording Secretary.

Mr. SAMUEL S. GREEN, of Worcester, added a few remarks to the paper:

Notwithstanding Mr. Hudson's successful career as a lawyer, and notwithstanding his mastery of the details of the great business with which he was connected, and the power he showed in managing its affairs, I have the best reasons for saying that his heart was in study. Up to the very last of his life, every Sunday was spent by him in study. Nothing, I presume, has been left to show the results of his investigations. He made numerous memoranda on slips of paper, but I anticipate it will be found that nothing has been left in such a form that it can be printed. Nevertheless, it is true that his heart was in study, and that successful as he was in other walks in life, he still clung to the end of his life to the tastes which he had in the beginning. I have reason to believe that he even studied law, not so much because of the real interest

which he had in it, as to secure the means which could enable him to devote time to studies in which he was more interested.

The annual report of the Treasurer was presented by NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M. An important item in the report was the announcement that a new fund had been formed by John Chandler Bancroft Davis, of Washington, Horace Davis, of San Francisco, and Andrew McFarland Davis, of Cambridge,—a fund of \$3,000, the principal of which is to be held intact, and the income to be applied to the purchase of literature relating to the Civil War of 1861—1865.

The report of the Librarian was read by Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON.

The report of the Council being now before the Society, it was voted that it be referred to the Committee of Publication.

On a ballot for President, all the votes were given for Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, Mr. CHARLES P. BOWDITCH, and Mr. JAMES F. HUNNEWELL were appointed a committee to nominate the remaining officers. On their report a ballot was taken resulting in the election of the following gentlemen :

Vice-Presidents:

Hon. GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL.D., of Worcester.

Rev. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D., of Boston.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence:

FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, M.A., of New Haven, Connecticut.

Secretary for Domestic Correspondence:

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., of Lincoln.

Recording Secretary:

CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

Treasurer:

NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M., of Worcester.

Councillors:

Hon. SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, LL.D., of Boston.

Rev. EGBERT COFFIN SMYTH, D.D., of Andover.

SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M., of Worcester.

Hon. EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS, A.M., of Worcester.

JEREMIAH EVARTS GREENE, B.A., of Worcester.

GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL.D., of Worcester.

WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A.M., of Providence,
Rhode Island.

Hon. JOHN DAVIS WASHBURN, LL.B., of Worcester.

THOMAS CORWIN MENDENHALL, LL.D., of Worcester.

Hon. JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, A.M., of Portland,
Maine.

Committee of Publication:

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Boston.

NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M., of Worcester.

CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

CHARLES C. SMITH, A.M., of Boston.

Auditors:

WILLIAM A. SMITH, A.B., of Worcester.

A. GEORGE BULLOCK, A.M., of Worcester.

The Recording Secretary reported that there were seven vacancies in the list of members, and the Council suggested the following names of candidates :

James Willson Brooks, LL.B., of Petersham.

Andrew Jackson George, M.A., of Brookline.

Edward Hooker Gilbert, A.B., of Ware.

James Ford Rhodes, LL.D., of Boston.

Rev. Michael Charles O'Brien, of Bangor, Maine.

Elias Harlow Russell, of Worcester.

All of these gentlemen were duly elected on separate ballots.

A paper, entitled "Student Customs," was read by Dr. G. STANLEY HALL.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES then said :—

The two communications which I am about to present were written by our associates, the Hon. HORACE DAVIS of San Francisco and Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS of Cambridge. Both papers were inspired by a letter, which I shall presently read, written by their grandmother, Mrs. Aaron Bancroft, to her daughter, Mrs. Donato Gherardi, the mother of Rear-Admiral Gherardi of the United States Navy. These papers were to have been presented by Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis, but, unexpectedly, he sailed for Europe on the tenth instant. Before his departure, Mr. Davis committed these documents to my hands with the request that I would read them at this meeting.¹

Mr. SAMUEL S. GREEN remarked :—

I do not rise a third time solely for the pleasure of hearing my own voice, but to discharge a duty which the Council placed upon me last evening of saying a few words

¹ *Vide seq.* The interest in the occasion was enhanced by the fact that during the reading of these papers portraits of Dr. Aaron Bancroft, the Hon. George Bancroft, the Hon. John Davis and Judge John Chandler were within view of the members, whose attention was called to them.

in regard to a recent ceremony in honor of our late distinguished vice-president, George Bancroft, and his father and mother, Aaron and Lucretia (Chandler) Bancroft. There certainly can be no more fitting time to do this than after listening to the delightful letter from Lucretia (Chandler) Bancroft just read, and after hearing the statement by the treasurer that three of her grandsons have made a generous gift to this Society.

It had seemed for a long time very desirable that the birthplace of George Bancroft should be marked by some kind of a monument. Under the leadership of the local Society of Antiquity, members of several historical organizations in Worcester, among them a large number of members of our own Society, came together and made arrangements for securing a block of stone and placing a bronze tablet upon it. The ceremony accompanying the erection of that monument, and the dedication of the tablet, took place on the third of the present month, one hundred years exactly from the time when George Bancroft was born in the house the site of which we marked. After a prayer by our associate, Mr. Garver, who is the fourth minister of the Society founded by Aaron Bancroft, a somewhat elaborate address was made by Gen. James Grant Wilson, giving reminiscences of his life in connection with Bancroft. This will be printed in full, with an account of the other exercises, in the proceedings of the Society of Antiquity.

Naturally our own president, Mr. Salisbury, was selected to preside on the occasion. It was fitting that as president of this organization he should do so. It was fitting also that he should discharge that duty as being a son of a playmate and classmate of George Bancroft, our former president for so many years. The monument was presented to the City of Worcester by the presiding officer, and accepted by the mayor, Honorable Rufus B. Dodge.

It was expected that our distinguished vice-president,

Senator Hoar, would make an address on the occasion, and tell us of things he had learned through the close connection which he long had with George Bancroft, but another important duty called him to New York, and so we had to rely on other speakers. Rear-Admiral William T. Sampson and our associate, Andrew McFarland Davis, were guests of the Committee.

I think the most interesting incident of the whole occasion occurred when our venerable second vice-president, Dr. Hale, mounted upon the monument and gave to us from his own recollection, certain incidents in the life of George Bancroft, and an off-hand estimate of his great work, the History of the United States. He told us that when he was fourteen years old, his father brought into the sitting-room of his house where his mother and he were sitting, the young man, George Bancroft, who had just completed the first volume of his great History, his father saying to his wife, "I have brought Mr. Bancroft home; he has finished the first volume of his History, and wishes to consult us about printing it." Dr. Hale's remarks will appear in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquity.

I will only add to what I have said that the marker is a roughly hewn stone taken from a quarry in Worcester. It is in the shape of a frustrum of a pyramid two and one-half feet square at its foundation, and rising two and one half feet from the ground, sloping very gently. It is placed just between the sidewalk and the curb in front of the lot where the old house stood, the second residence of Aaron Bancroft in Worcester, and the house in which George Bancroft was born. The inscription on the tablet is, "Twenty feet east of this stone stood the house in which George Bancroft, historian of America, son of Aaron and Lucretia (Chandler) Bancroft, was born Oct. 3, 1800. Placed by citizens of Worcester, Oct. 3, 1900." The question came to me as a member of the committee which procured the stone and tablet, whether the name of

George Bancroft should not be in larger letters than those of Aaron and Lucretia (Chandler) Bancroft. Remembering as we do in Worcester the gratitude which we owe to Aaron and Lucretia (Chandler) Bancroft for their great services to us the committee said "No," and directed that the lettering should be of the same size for all the three names, in order that we might equally commemorate the birthplace of George Bancroft, and the residence of his venerated father and mother, Aaron and Lucretia (Chandler) Bancroft.

The various papers being now before the Society, it was voted that they be accepted by the Society, with thanks to the writers and those who presented them, and that they be referred, together with the report of the Council, to the Committee of Publication.

Dr. HALE asked if any of the members had diaries or other memoranda of 1762, when the New England contingent stormed the Morro at Havana. He said :

The late Hon. Ellis Ames said that the weakest spot in American history was the taking of the Morro in 1762, and we may look in Bancroft and other histories and find no record of it. In the English histories all the credit is given to the English troops, and no mention is made that there were any New England troops present. Yet in one of the official accounts they are obliged to say that they were on the last gasp in their approaches on the Morro, when to the delight of everybody the Connecticut contingent arrived. On the 22nd of August their whole force stormed the Morro and took it, and it seems that the Connecticut contingent, which were the majority, must have joined in the attack. A bit of evidence seventy-five years old in the matter is in Mr. Everett's address at Concord. He was describing the uprising at Lexington, and he said :—

"The genius of America, on this morning of her eman-

cipation, had sounded her horn over the plains and upon the mountains, and the indignant yeomanry of the land, armed with the weapons which had done service in their fathers' hands, poured to the spot where this new and strange tragedy was acting. The old New England drums that had beat at Louisburg, at Quebec, at Martinique, at the Havana, were now sounding on all the roads to Concord. There were officers in the British line that knew the sound;—they had heard it in the deadly breach, beneath the black deep-throated engines of the French and Spanish castles, and they knew what followed when that sound went before."

These words allude distinctly to the Morro. It is a fine statement. It is a little provoking that our own historians should not so much as allude to it at all. The reason is that Quebec happened in 1761, and that makes a good place to close a chapter; then you begin at 1763 with the Stamp Act, and this attack on Morro is left entirely out. Dr. S. A. Green refers me to a journal of Francis Green, and I cannot help thinking if the Connecticut gentlemen would look up their own reminiscences, they might get a nice piece to the credit of New England soldiers.

Dr. HALE referred to the Committee of Publication a communication which he received a few days before the death of Mr. Cushing, telling of the discovery of the body of a French officer on the southern coast of France, showing that the officer had travelled from the mouth of the river across the whole continent.

Mr. J. EVARTS GREENE related an incident which happened while on a recent trip to Gettysburg. He said:

Two weeks ago I was one of a party who visited some of the battlefields, and while at Gettysburg, one of our party who was searching for bullets, which are still found there in large numbers, discovered an Indian arrow-head. On that tremendous field, on which the fate of a nation

hung, and where the relics of the weapons of civilized warfare are still found, to pick up among them the arrow-head of an Indian, shot perhaps in the chase or in war, had a peculiar association, which seemed to me interesting and romantic, and perhaps in the proper hands would be a theme for a poem.

Prof. JAMESON mentioned that in the 11th volume of the Proceedings of the Society, at page 513, there appears a notice of a subscription in 1793 on the part of certain people, that the State Capital might be moved to Worcester, and enquiring as to particulars of this movement, Mr. HOAR remarked :—

I think an Act for moving the State House to Worcester passed the House of Representatives in 1851. I am not quite sure that I ought to say it passed the House, but there was a vote in which that proposition had a majority, unless I am mistaken. It was a time of great political excitement. The Free Soil and Anti-Slavery movements were under way when Boston was the centre of the Whig power. I do not remember what the circumstances were, but there was in some form of voting a majority of the House, at one stage. I acquired some years ago a Connecticut magazine published in the year of the framing of the Constitution in 1787 and its submission to the State, and in that there is a letter from Massachusetts giving an account of the proposition to establish the seat of government at Concord, and the account indicates that it was quite likely to be accomplished in those times.

[See Note following this Report.]

WORCESTER, January 4th, 1793.

(Circular.)

SIR,

THE General Court, in June last, by an Order for the purpose, appointed a Committee to prepare plans of

a building, or buildings, with suitable accommodations for the Meetings of the Supreme Executive, and Legislature, and for the Offices of the Secretary and Treasurer of this Commonwealth, which building, or buildings, were to be placed or erected on land in Boston, or *ELSEWHERE*, and to be vested in the Commonwealth, as the sole property thereof. And as it is generally allowed that this town is, at least, one of the most eligible places in this Commonwealth for the permanent seat of Government, especially should the Province of Maine be separated from this State, and add another Star to the American Constellation—As numerous reasons point to the propriety, so it appears to be the general voice of the people, that the seat of Government should be inland, where our Legislature may, without the many interruptions, and other inconveniences attending their sitting in a larger commercial city, in quietness pursue more attentively the business of the State, and without undue influence, surrounded by a clear and wholesome air, attend to the "Rights of Man."—And as most of the States in the Union have long since found the benefit of having the places for the sittings of their Legislatures at a distance from their capital commercial cities; and other States, from long trial of the inconveniences of holding the Sessions of their Legislatures in such cities, have lately removed them therefrom—These considerations, added to the influence of the recommendation of many respectable gentlemen in various parts of the Commonwealth, have induced a number of the inhabitants of this place to set on foot a subscription, and in compliance to the tenor of the order of the General Court before mentioned, attempt to raise a sum, by that means, to erect the said building, or buildings, in this town. At a meeting, the last evening, of a number of gentlemen, suddenly called together, about £1300 was then subscribed, as you will see by the inclosed subscription paper. After which the subscribers were chosen a committee to promote the subscription; and were requested to write a Circular Letter for this purpose to our brethren in various parts of the County; agreeably thereto we now address you. Permit us to request that you will lend your immediate aid to the business, by promoting the subscription, and to return the sub-

scription paper to either of us in Worcester, on or before the 15th day of February next; as whatever proposal is made to the committee of the General Court, must be done at the next sitting of the said Court; previously to which it is necessary that we have a return from the several towns where subscriptions may be sent, in order that we may know the exact sum we can raise for the purpose beforementioned.

We are, Sir, with esteem and respect,

your very humble servants

ELIJAH DIX,
ISAIAH THOMAS,
SAMUEL FLAGG,
NATHANIEL PAINE,
DANIEL WALDO, jun.
JOHN CHAMBERLAIN,
PHINEAS JONES,
BENJAMIN HEYWOOD,
DAVID BIGELOW,
JOHN BARNARD.

P. S. We inclose a Copy of our subscription paper, as signed at our small meeting the last evening—it will doubtless be enlarged in this town to double the sum already subscribed. The sum we wish to obtain by subscription is 6000*l*.

To

WORCESTER, January 3d, 1793.

WE the subscribers severally agree, that we will pay the several sums affixed to our names, for the purpose of erecting sufficient and convenient buildings for the accommodation of the Supreme Executive, and Legislature, and for the offices of the Secretary and Treasurer of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts: Provided there should be an act of the Legislature, making *Worcester* the Seat of Government, or Partially so.

ELIJAH DIX, - -	£150	WILLIAM GOULDING, -	6
SAMUEL FLAGG, -	100	THOMAS SHEPPARD, -	5
ISAIAH THOMAS, -	150	SAMUEL WARDEN, -	5
C. & S. CHANDLER, -	150	SAMUEL JOHNSON, -	6
NATHANIEL PAINE, -	50	JACOB MILLER, - -	5
ditto in Land, - -	150	JOHN NOYES, - -	5
GARDNER L. CHANDLER, 100		THEOPHILUS WHEELER, 12	
JOHN STANTON, -	30	EPHRAIM MOWER, -	30
JOHN CHAMBERLAIN, -	50	JOHN BARNARD, -	36
PHINEHAS JONES, -	25	DAVID BIGELOW, -	9
IGNATIUS GOULDING, -	10	DANIEL WALDO, jun. -	50
SAMUEL BRAZER, -	9	BENJAMIN HEYWOOD, -	20
DANIEL GOULDING, -	25	SAMUEL BROOKS, -	25
EBENEZER MOWER, -	6	NATHAN PATCH, -	75
SAMUEL BRIDGE, -	5	NATHANIEL PATCH., -	9
LEONARD WORCESTER, -	30	JOHN GREEN, Jun. -	10
THOMAS PAYSON, -	10	EZRA WALDO WELD, -	6
JOHN STOWERS, -	20	NATHANIEL COOLIDGE, -	6
JEDEDIAH HEALEY, -	25	JOHN WHITE, - -	6
ELIAS MANN, - -	5	DANIEL HEYWOOD, -	36
ANDREW TUFTS, -	5	JESSE CRAIGE, - -	5
SIMEON DUNCAN, -	6	PHILIP AMMIDON, -	5

NOTE.

It will be remembered that the controlling reason why Worcester, rather than Boston, was selected as the home of this Society lay in the fact that at Worcester its treasures would be safer from destruction or pillage in case of war with a foreign foe. There can be no doubt that a similar reason existed in the minds of many citizens for establishing the State capital in the interior rather than upon the seaboard. And as it was desirable that the location should be central, for the convenience of members of the General Court and for all who might have business with the State, in a time before the age of steam, it was natural that the claim of Worcester as a suitable site should be put forward by its inhabitants.

The circular to which Prof. Jameson referred and the subscription paper, both of which are mentioned by Mr. Nathaniel Paine in his list of American Broad-sides in the Society's library, are printed herewith.

It would appear that the movement in favor of Worcester gained considerable headway, for the town in its corporate capacity took formal action in the matter. At a town meeting, held on Jan. 14, 1793, it was

Voted, That in case the General Court shall make a law making this Town the Seat of Government, the lot of land north of the Town Common that remains unsold be granted for the use of Government for the purpose of erecting a State House on.

The lot mentioned lay on the north side of Front street, and with the buildings thereon is now valued by the City Assessors at about one million dollars. C. A. C.

Dr. HALE mentioned a manuscript letter in the Franklin collection written by young Franklin, the son of Benjamin Franklin. It is dated about 1790, and is written to a French chemist asking if he will send him a friction match, that he might show it at a dinner party in Paris; the chemist answered that there were four friction matches in Paris, and that he would send him two.

The meeting was dissolved, and by invitation of President SALISBURY, the members present were entertained with a luncheon at his house.

CHARLES A. CHASE,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

IN BEHALF of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society I have the honor to report another year of continued prosperity and usefulness. For the details of the financial condition of the Society and the growth of the Library, I would refer the members to the respective reports of the Treasurer and the Librarian, which form a part of this report.

Since the last semi-annual meeting, in April, the Society has lost six members by death, as follows: John Nicholas Brown, William C. Endicott, Cyrus Hamlin, Samuel Jennison, John E. Hudson and Charles J. Hoadly. Their memoirs have been assigned to various writers, and will form part of this report.

John Nicholas Brown was born 17 December 1861, was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society 28 October 1888, and died 1 May 1900.

It is easier to write of what lay behind Mr. Brown, and of what was ahead of him, than it is to tell about the man himself. Mr. Brown did not like to be talked about; he rarely spoke of himself, and he never knowingly gave others occasion or opportunity for gossiping about him. He had ambitions and opinions, but he longed most for the privilege of living his own life in his own way, quietly, simply, earnestly. Mr. Brown's personality, his characteristics, were to an unusual degree the embodiment of his ancestry; his conscious life was to an equal extent the preparation for what he hoped to do. John Nicholas Brown was the son of John Carter Brown, whose father and grandfather were the two Nicholas Browns to whom Rhode Island

owed, more than to any other individuals, its creditable position in American life a century ago. Business men, engaged in many sorts of dealings, with interests which were respected in every considerable port the world around, Mr. Brown's father and grandfather were men who tried to do their duty by the community in which they lived. Four generations of Browns believed with increasing seriousness that such talents as they possessed were held in trust for the public good. John Nicholas Brown realized what this inheritance meant and he set himself to meet his obligations in full.

Mr. Brown entered the university to which his grandfather had given the family name, with the class of 1885. Before the freshman year was completed, it was decided to take him abroad, and he pursued his studies in Germany for a while. His health, never robust, gave increasing anxiety whenever he applied himself steadily to books, and he was eventually obliged to give up the idea of continuing systematic college work. He had received an old fashioned drilling in the three R's, and a thorough preparation for the college entrance requirements of twenty years ago. For the rest, his education was that of an intelligent, observant, accurate, careful man, who rarely allowed anything which he did not understand to get beyond his reach, and who constantly endeavored to widen the range of his interests and his knowledge by reading and acquaintanceship. He travelled much, visiting many of the less familiar parts of northern and southern Europe, northern Africa, and western America, as far as Alaska. Wherever he went, he found out about the country and the people, their needs and their resources, and his observations were always keen, accurate and suggestive. As soon as he became of age—his father died in 1874—Mr. Brown took his desk in the counting-house of the family firm, and familiarized himself with all the detail and routine of the office. He attended at his

desk regularly during business hours when he was in Providence, and unless called away by special engagements he gave his personal supervision to the items of current business. He insisted upon the most exact and accurate attention to every detail of his affairs, and he scrupulously observed the rules which he laid down for others.

Mr. Brown was first of all a conservative man, cautious and careful. He was brought up not to make mistakes, and so far as I know he made scarcely enough to prove the rule. He recognized the opportunities which his position in the community, his wealth and leisure, gave him; but he realized even better the harm which so often results from ill-considered action, from misapplied energy and means. His generosity, his intense desire to help those who were in real want, were traits best appreciated by those who knew him most intimately. He spent a great deal of time and energy that he could ill afford, in attending to the requirements of those whose suffering or misfortune came to his attention. He desired to do good, and he accomplished more than any one will ever know, but, because of this desire, he was most anxious not to do the wrong thing, to give neither money nor advice that would do more harm than good. He wished to keep clear of the misdirected avenues of charity, which we all know lead posterity to misfortune far greater than any benefits to the living. Mr. Brown had the means wherewith to do much, and his training from boyhood—and few boys have had more careful or more intelligent training—had impressed upon him the importance and the responsibility of his inheritance. It was a responsibility he had no desire to shirk, and he was determined that nothing he might do should lessen or compromise the proud position in the respect of the community which his family had won by good right. He could afford to wait, to find out; and he believed that the wisest economy, the best thing for

all concerned, was not to waste his resources on the undeserving people or causes.

Mr. Brown had the highest ideals, and an intense antipathy to everything low or mean or petty, to everything that was not good. This explains very much that he did, and much more that he did not do. He dreaded the association of anything unworthy with his name—a name which had been borne by three men, his immediate ancestors, than whom America has hardly produced a more worthy trio, and whose standard he was ambitious to maintain and to elevate so far as he could do it. Mr. Brown insisted that whatever he had to do with should be worthy, should be right. He would not listen patiently to any proposition which suggested saving time or lessening expense if the result was to be something not as good as it might be. This was, perhaps, a characteristic of a young man. Mr. Brown had no desire to anticipate the natural workings of time, to interfere with the normal, due course of events. He had many plans for the future, but he knew the wisdom of biding his time. He was unwilling to do things for the mere sake of doing them, when they did not really need to be done. He wanted to fit himself, first, so that when the time came he could act intelligently, wisely, efficiently, to the best advantage of the world as a whole.

The fruition of Mr. Brown's long preparation came when, in 1897, he married. The well-nigh perfect public library building, which he gave to the city of Providence, was begun in the spring of that year. His son, upon whom now depends the perpetuation of the family name with its traditions of American noble manhood, was born 21 February 1900. The permanent establishment of his private library as a memorial to his father, John Carter Brown, and its consecration to American scholarship, was assured as the next important act of his life. What would have followed, we can only guess. No one who knew the

man can doubt that the future held many things—deeds which would have done a great man's work towards helping the world onward and lifting it upward.

I have not told, as I ought, of Mr. Brown's personal characteristics, his modesty, his justness, his intense, well-balanced religious nature, his loyal pride in his country and his longing to serve his state and nation without sacrifice of personal self-respect. I can only add the expression of my own indebtedness to a splendid man, who was to all who knew him an inspiration and an example of the life best worth living. G. P. W.

William Crowninshield Endicott, eldest child of William Putnam and Mary (Crowninshield) Endicott, was born in Salem November 19, 1826. He was a lineal descendant from John Endicott, who was sent over from England by the Massachusetts Company, in 1628, as governor of the plantation which the Company purposed to establish here, and who exercised all the functions of that office until the arrival of John Winthrop with the Colony Charter, in 1630. On his mother's side he traced his ancestry back to Casper Crowninshield, of German origin, who came to America in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The subject of this memoir received his early education in his native town, and was fitted for college in the public Latin School of that place. At the age of seventeen he entered Harvard College, and graduated with good rank in the class of 1847; his part at Commencement being a disquisition on "Public Honors in different Ages." He then read law with Nathaniel J. Lord, one of the leaders of the bar in Essex County, and in 1849 entered the senior class in the Law School at Cambridge, but did not take the degree of Bachelor of Laws. In the following year he was admitted to the bar, and in 1851 he began practice in Salem. Two years later he formed a partnership with Jairus W. Perry, a graduate

of Bowdoin College in the class of 1846, which lasted twenty years, until Mr. Endicott's appointment to the bench of the Supreme Court.

He had already been chosen, in 1852, a member of the Salem Common Council, of which body he became President at a later period. From 1857 to 1864 he was City Solicitor of Salem. As a young man he was a Whig, but when that party was dissolved he joined the Democrats, and in 1870 he was an unsuccessful candidate of his new political associates for Congress. He was the candidate of the same party for Attorney-General of Massachusetts in each of the three following years; but the Democrats were in a hopeless minority, and the first opportunity for exhibiting his abilities and his high character in a public station he owed to a Republican governor. In 1873 he was appointed by Governor William B. Washburn one of the justices of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. The appointment was universally recognized at the time as a wise one and a just recognition of the eminent place which Mr. Endicott held at the bar and in the community. He filled the office for ten years with marked success, and wrote many of the most important opinions of the Court. He resigned at the end of 1882, on account of impaired health, and went abroad for rest and travel.

It was while he had a seat on the bench that he made his most important contribution to literature outside of his professional work. This was in September, 1878, on the occasion of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of Salem, when he delivered a profound and carefully studied address on the nature and extent of the powers exercised here by his distinguished ancestor before the transfer of the Company and the Charter to Massachusetts. It was an important and impressive occasion; and no one who had the privilege to be in Salem on that day will forget either the matter or the manner of the masterly discourse which Judge Endicott then read. He

was in the full maturity of his powers, and his dignified presence and the finely modulated tones of his voice added weight to his well considered words. Though he was not an orator like Webster or Choate or Everett or Winthrop, who had each dealt with a similar theme at Plymouth or elsewhere, in commemoration of the landing of the Pilgrims, he rose to all the demands of the opportunity and satisfied them all. Earlier in his life he gave several lectures or occasional addresses; but it is believed that they were not printed.

After his return from Europe he was, in 1884, the unsuccessful candidate of his party for Governor of Massachusetts; and in the following year he was appointed by President Cleveland Secretary of War, which office he filled for four years. He did not afterward hold any public office. In December, 1859, he was married to Ellen, daughter of George Peabody of Salem, a remote kinsman of the eminent banker and philanthropist of the same name. The issue of this marriage was a daughter, who married the Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary for the Colonies of Great Britain, and a son who graduated at Harvard College in 1883. His wife and children survived him.

Mr. Endicott was chosen a member of this Society in April, 1862, and to it he gave the fine portrait of Governor Endicott, which was made the subject of special notice at the annual meeting in October, 1873. He was chosen President of the Peabody Academy of Science, at Salem, in 1863, and held that office nearly to the time of his death. In 1864 he was chosen a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and served on its Executive Committee for two years, 1867-1869. He was an Overseer of Harvard College from 1875 to 1882, and again from 1883 to 1885; and from 1884 to 1895 he was one of the Fellows. In 1882 the College conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws. In 1891 he was

chosen a trustee of the Peabody Education Fund, as the successor of our late associate Judge Devens. He resigned in 1897, on account of ill health and consequent inability to attend the meetings of the Board. It can be no matter of surprise that as he neared, or passed, what seemed to the Psalmist the natural limit of human life there should have been a gradual failure of his overworked mental powers, and that death should come at last as a happy release to one who had well filled his appointed part in life. He died in Boston, of pneumonia, on Sunday, May 6, 1900. Judge Endicott was a man of fine personal appearance, of dignified and courteous manner, who made and kept friends, a sound lawyer, and an upright citizen, inspiring all who came in touch with him in any of the relations of life with entire confidence and with personal esteem. He was a worthy descendant and representative of the New England Puritan, with the harsher features of the Puritan character softened, and his outlook on life broadened, by the changed conditions of a later age.

C. C. S.

Rev. Cyrus Hamlin, D.D., LL.D., youngest of the four children of Hannibal and Susan Faulkner Hamlin, was born at Waterford, Maine, January 5, 1811. The Hamlins were of well known Huguenot stock. Cyrus's grandfather Eleazar was a revolutionary soldier who settled in Maine after the war. His cousin Hannibal was Vice-President during Lincoln's first term, and his mother was the daughter of Col. Francis Faulkner of Acton, Massachusetts, a soldier of the Revolution. "There was iron in the blood" of both the Hamlins and Faulknors.

When young Hamlin was a mere lad, his father died, and he was left to a discipline of poverty and hardship on a rough farm, which developed his extraordinary ingenuity, daring and self-reliance. Later he learned the silversmith's trade in Portland, where his religious life

became strongly marked and he was turned towards an education by the influence of Rev. Dr. Payson and the members of his church.

Fitting for college at Bridgton Academy, he was graduated at Bowdoin in 1834, the poet Longfellow being one of his teachers. In college he displayed high talent and individuality, striking evidences of which were his bringing hazing students under the process of the civil law, and constructing for Professor Smyth a complete working model of a steam-engine, almost without instruction and with the simplest tools—the first steam-engine built in the State of Maine and still to be seen in the Cleveland Museum at Brunswick.

To prepare for the ministry and foreign missionary service, he entered Bangor Theological Seminary, where he was graduated in 1837. Seeking an opening first in Africa, then in China, he was, after some delay, appointed by the American Board to Turkey. He was married September 3, ordained October 3, and sailed for Constantinople, December 2, 1838.

Then began that remarkable career which made Dr. Hamlin's name almost a household word throughout Armenia and in missionary circles at home and abroad for more than sixty years. He threw himself into the work of education with the utmost force and insight. In 1840 he founded Bebek Seminary for the training of Armenian youth, securing, almost alone, the building, the appliances, the money, and carrying the work forward in the face of the opposition of Turk, Russian, and Jesuit, not to speak of the lukewarmness of his missionary associates.

He translated text-books, imported American tools, obtained concessions, preached the Gospel, labored in the class-room, used his lathe, established industrial training, and to help his poor Armenian students and their families set them to making and selling Yankee rat-traps and sheet-iron stoves and stove-pipe. He finally, without any pre-

vious knowledge or experience of the business, set up a bakery which developed such magnitude and celebrity for its product that in the Crimean War it drove all other contractors off the field and furnished the British forces and hospitals with bread of the finest quality, sometimes producing fourteen thousand loaves a day, so that the name of "Hamlin the Baker" was known throughout Constantinople.

His restless enterprise led him to undertake the washing, on an immense scale, of the indescribably filthy clothing of the Russian prisoners and sick and wounded soldiers of the British army; and when after elaborate preparations, the Armenian washerwomen, whom he had assembled for the task, were driven off by the stench and vermin, he swiftly constructed washing machines out of beer barrels, and carried the business through to triumphant success. His friend Dr. Bartol asserted that he was master of sixteen professions, but Dr. Hamlin declared that he had left out of the list the one of which he was most proud—that of washerwoman.

With fearless energy he met and vanquished the cholera with a preparation, the formula of which—equal parts of laudanum, spirits of camphor and tincture of rhubarb—originally devised by Dr. John Green of Worcester, was given to Mr. Hamlin by his cousin Mr. Foster, and which became widely known as Hamlin's Mixture. He was offered a large sum if he would allow his picture to be put on the wrappers containing this preparation, but he refused.

Nothing daunted him. He was equal alike to an audience with the Sultan, to knocking down and thrashing, single handed, a big Greek fisherman who was abusing his wife, to carrying on negotiations with the British Ambassador, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and the officials of the British army, or to making a mould and casting a new steam-pipe for his engine—all with his own hands, with

the rudest tools and at imminent risk of his life from the explosion of the molten iron.

In 1859, Mr. Robert of New York took the first steps in the founding what afterwards became the famous Robert College. Dr. Hamlin entered into the scheme with the greatest ardor, and to promote it resigned from the American Board and came to this country in 1861. Great difficulties were encountered. The civil war engaged all thought. Money came in slowly. But the college was at length opened in 1863, in the old Bebek Seminary, though it was not till 1871 that it was in buildings of its own on its present magnificent position overlooking the Bosphorus.

The romantic story of the way in which the opposition of the Turks to granting the site and allowing the erection of buildings was finally, after long years, overcome, was told before this Society by Dr. Hamlin and published in our Proceedings for October, 1889.

Dr. Hamlin remained at the head of this college until 1877, when sharp differences between him and Mr. Robert caused their separation—a most painful episode in Dr. Hamlin's life—and at the age of sixty-six, he was suddenly left in this country without occupation or resources. He was, however, almost immediately chosen Professor of Theology at Bangor Seminary, where he taught for three years; then accepting the Presidency of Middlebury College he continued in that position for five years, finally resigning in 1885.

He then made his home in Lexington, Mass., until his death, occupying his time in occasional preaching and lecturing, in writing and in consultations on missionary affairs, maintaining his vigor and enthusiasm to the last.

In the course of his life Dr. Hamlin was frequently consulted by the authorities in Washington on various diplomatic issues connected with Missions in Turkey, respecting which he was an acknowledged expert. In 1874 his influence, in spite of the opposition of Mr. Fish

and Mr. Evarts, carried through the government the measure, accepted by the Sublime Porte, which gave American citizens the right to own real estate in Turkey; a most important concession, on which, for twenty-five years, have been based all the claims of the United States for damages done to the property of missionaries in Turkey.

Dr. Hamlin was thrice married: first, September 3, 1838, to Henrietta L. Jackson, who died at Rhodes, November 14, 1850; second, May 18, 1852, to Harriet M. Lovell, who died November 6, 1857; third, November 5, 1859, to Mary E. Tenney, who survives him. Of these three marriages eight children are still living.

Dr. Hamlin received the degree of D.D. from Bowdoin College in 1854; of S.T.D. from Harvard in 1861; and of LL.D. from the University of New York in 1870. He was elected a member of this Society in April, 1883, and in recent years has been a frequent attendant at our meetings, three of his narrative papers read here appearing in our Proceedings.

In 1877 he published an octavo volume entitled "Among the Turks," and in 1893 a similar volume called "My Life and Times," a most interesting and graphic story of personal experiences. He was also a frequent contributor to the newspaper and periodical press, and articles from his pen are still in process of publication in one of our religious journals.

While attending a social gathering in the Second Parish Church in Portland on the 8th of last August, he was suddenly taken ill and died in twenty minutes, in his ninetieth year. The burial was at his home in Lexington.

Dr. Hamlin was a man of tall, spare, wiry frame, with rather a florid complexion, sandy hair and beard, blue eyes and a strong Roman nose. In youth he was very handsome, and he preserved his freshness and erect bearing in extreme age.

He was naturally a high tempered and self-willed man, a rigid Calvinist, pronounced in his convictions and purposes, and to the last degree ingenious, penetrating, resourceful, versatile and energetic in carrying them out. But all this was balanced by consummate good sense, a fine self-control, a rich vein of humor and a most devout and loving heart. His sagacity and aggressiveness and perseverance in what he regarded as a righteous cause were equalled only by his rectitude, unselfishness and superb consecration.

He possessed an unusual memory, had great talent for friendship, was a generous hater and an ardent patriot. He was a clever mechanic, a learned scholar, a clear-headed thinker, a vigorous writer, an effective preacher, a skilful diplomatist and a most racy story-teller. In him the universal Yankee was raised to the highest power in an original personality, enriched by varied culture, broadened by wide experience and sanctified by religion. He had in him the stuff of which heroes and the founders of States are made. He was a leader, politician, saint.

D. M.

DR. HAMLIN'S CHILDREN.

Married Henrietta Loraine Jackson, September 3, 1838. The children of this union were:

1. Henrietta Ann Loraine, born Dec. 5, 1839; married Rev. George Washburn, now D.D., LL.D., President of Robert College, in 1859.
2. Susan Elizabeth, born May 6, 1842; died in 1858.
3. Margaret Caroline, born Sept. 10, 1845; married Wm. H. Vail, M.D., May 1, 1872; died April 8, 1887.
4. Abigail Frances, born November, 1847; married Rev. Charles Anderson, Jr., now Professor in Robert College, in 1873.
5. Mary Rebecca, born July 29, 1850; died September, 1852.

Mrs. H. L. [J.] Hamlin died at Rhodes Nov. 14, 1850.

Dr. Hamlin married for his second wife, May 18, 1852, Miss Harriet Martha Lovell. Two children were born to her:

6. Harriet Clara, born March 3, 1853; married in 1889 Rev. Lucius O. Lee, missionary in Marash, Turkey.
7. Alfred Dwight Foster, born Sept. 5, 1855, now adjunct professor in Columbia University.

Mrs. H. M. [L.] Hamlin died Nov. 6, 1857.

Dr. Hamlin married for his third wife, Nov. 5, 1859, Miss Mary Eliza Tenney, who survives him. Of this mother there were five children, of whom four survive:

8. Mary Ann Robert, born June 8, 1862; in 1896 married to Rev. George E. Ladd, now pastor at Waterbury, Vermont.

9. Emma Catherine, born Feb. 29, 1864; lives at home.

10. William Maltby, born March 4, 1866; died November, 1871.

11. Alice Julia, born Dec. 20, 1868; married in 1897 to Edgar Hinman, now professor in Nebraska State University, Lincoln, Neb.

12. Christopher Robert, born Oct. 11, 1870; now pastor of church at Canton Centre, Conn.

Also, in 1869 a son, Henry Martyn, who only lived a few minutes.

A. D. F. H.

Samuel Jennison, who died in Boston, on September 21, 1900, was born in Worcester, Massachusetts, January 30, 1821, the son of our loyal officer, Samuel Jennison—who, for so many years, was Librarian and Treasurer of this Society—and Mary Gould (Ellery) Jennison, a granddaughter of William Ellery the signer. The family will long be distinguished in the annals of Worcester County. From his father he inherited his literary taste, and the care which he gave to every matter which he had in hand. His painstaking industry and accuracy were exhibited in the care of many estates.

He was one of a group of boys who entered Harvard College in the summer of 1835, from Worcester. It is remembered that when the class entered college, he was regarded as the most accomplished classical scholar, and his fondness for language and the studies connected with it never faded. During "a comfortable invalidism" he greatly enjoyed a return to his favorite studies of the Greek and Latin classics, and the best of English literature.

He interested himself heartily in early life in every effort made to improve the musical culture of New England. His sympathy could always be relied upon in anything which related to music, in the history, theory and practice of which he was proficient. He was for

nearly fifty years a member of the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston. In his preface to the History of the Society Mr. Charles C. Perkins says: "The Society first employed Dr. Luther Farnham as its historian, and then appointed Mr. Samuel Jennison in his place. This gentleman, who undertook the task as a labor of love, worked at it from 1873 to 1878 in the rare moments of leisure which he could snatch from the duties of his profession, and accumulated a great mass of material, consisting of extracts from printed books, letters from early members of the Society, newspaper cuttings, etc. He intended, as he states in a commenced introductory chapter, 'to cover the whole field of musical history in Boston, as, for instance, the rise and fall of various singing and other musical associations; the introduction of music into the schools; the erection of the Music Hall and its organ; the establishment of educational institutions and conventions, and musical journals; the growth of musical criticism, the advent of Italian opera "troupes" and of German orchestras, the visits of foreign musicians, the *débuts* and careers of our own vocalists who have achieved distinction, the progress of the manufacture of instruments, and in short everything worthy of note connected with the advance of the art among us.' With so vast a scheme and very limited time at his disposal, it is not surprising that Mr. Jennison finally decided to abandon his cherished project; but instead of turning the key on his treasures, as one actuated by selfish motives would have done, he, when asking to be relieved from the work which he felt obliged to relinquish, generously offered to place his papers in the hands of whoever might be appointed in his place without any restriction as to their use. All that his successor can do in recording so liberal a proceeding is thus publicly to acknowledge his indebtedness for much valuable matter, which he might, through want of observation, research, or opportunity, have otherwise failed to secure."



John E. Hudson

After leaving college he studied law—and took the degree of Bachelor of Laws. He was admitted to the Massachusetts bar November 13, 1846. Two years later, December 5, 1848, he married Miss Mary Lincoln Thaxter, of Watertown, Massachusetts.

It is interesting to note that he held forty-five commissions,—one from each of the United States, giving him power to act as one of their magistrates in Boston in authenticating documents which might come before the courts. Such official trusts show the character of the man who is made the representative of distant states.

We owe to Mr. Jennison's father the recovery of John Hull's diary, which forms the most interesting contemporary authority we have of colonial life before the day of Sewall, John Hull's son-in-law. Mr. Jennison, the son, presented to us another trophy of his father's success in working the Ridgway shaft, and we owe to him Thomas Lechford's Note-Book, 1638–1641, published under Judge Dwight Foster's supervision some years ago. He has made many other valuable additions to our collections.

On October 24, 1884, he was elected a member of this Society.

E. E. H.

John Elbridge Hudson, of Boston, President of The American Bell Telephone Company, was born in Lynn, August 3, 1839; he was married August 23, 1871, to Miss Eunice W. Healey, daughter of Wells and Elizabeth (Pickering) Healey, of Hampton Falls, New Hampshire; and he died, without issue, in Beverly, October 1, 1900.

Mr. Hudson was a son of John and Elizabeth C. (Hilliard) Hudson. He was a descendant on the paternal side of Thomas Hudson (of the family of Henry Hudson, the navigator), who came from England about 1630, and settled in the Massachusetts Bay Colony; and on the maternal side he was a descendant of early New England

families. His maternal great-grandfather was the Reverend Samuel Hilliard, a pioneer in Universalism, and a soldier of the Revolution, serving at Bunker Hill and at the battle of Bennington; and his mother's maternal grandparents were the Rev. Dr. Hall, orthodox minister of the town of Sutton for sixty years, and Elizabeth (Prescott) Hall, daughter of Dr. John and Rebecca (Bulkley) Prescott, of Concord.

It is noteworthy that Mr. Hudson's emigrant ancestor, Thomas Hudson, acquired the land in Saugus on which was found the iron ore that led to the establishment on his property of the first iron works in this country; and also that the very first iron casting, made in 1642, remained in the possession of his descendants until 1892, when Mr. Hudson presented it to the city of Lynn.

Mr. Hudson's early education was acquired in the Lynn public schools, and he fitted himself for college. Entering Harvard, he was graduated in the class of 1862, valedictorian, *summa cum laude*. As a student, he was especially proficient in Greek, the best Greek scholar in his class; and before he received his degree he was assured a Greek tutorship in the college, upon the recommendation of Professor William W. Goodwin. This selection of an undergraduate for a tutorship is perhaps unique in the history of Harvard College. Mr. Hudson held his tutorship for three years, and with such success that he was urged to continue and follow the profession of a classical scholar. But he was drawn more directly to the law, and accordingly entered the Harvard Law School. His studies there finished with his graduation in 1865; he further read in the Boston law office of Chandler, Shattuck & Thayer, and on October 25, 1866, was duly admitted to the Suffolk bar. He continued with Chandler, Shattuck & Thayer, acting as clerk of the firm and as an assistant in its legal work, largely devoted to corporation matters, till February, 1870, when, upon the withdrawal of Mr. Shat-

tuck, he was admitted to partnership, the firm name becoming Chandler, Thayer & Hudson. Four years later the name was changed to Chandler, Ware & Hudson, Mr. Thayer withdrawing, having been made Royall Professor of the Harvard Law School, and Darwin E. Ware taking his place; and it so remained till 1878, when the firm was dissolved. For two years thereafter, Mr. Hudson continued in general practice alone.

During the year 1880 Mr. Hudson became general counsel of The American Bell Telephone Company, formed in that year, and devoted himself exclusively to its interests. In the early stages of the development of the company he displayed exceptional administrative ability, and his advice was much relied on by the executive department. Moreover, by reason of the fact that he was then engaged in establishing the intricate contracts between the parent company and its licensees, which are for all time to govern their common interests throughout the country, he was steadily fitting himself most admirably for the great work of administering these contracts, which later devolved upon him.

In 1885 he was appointed general manager of the company; in 1887 he was elected vice-president, while still holding the position of manager and general counsel; the same year he was made president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company for long distance service; and in 1889 he was elected president of The American Bell Telephone Company, from which time until his death he was at the head of its immense business. During his direction of affairs as manager and president, the total miles of telephone wire increased from 101,592 in 1885 to 1,016,777 in 1899; and the number of exchange connections from 272,478,705 in 1885 to 1,666,000,000 in 1899. Moreover, during this period, there was conceived and developed a system of long distance service which brought more than half of the population of the United

States within the limits of telephonic speech. These statistics emphasize the broad statement that the growth of Mr. Hudson's business capacity not only kept pace with but even kept in advance of the ever increasing needs of the companies under his control.

At a special meeting of the Directors of The American Bell Telephone Company, held the day after Mr. Hudson's death, the following resolutions were adopted:—

"WHEREAS, it has pleased Divine Providence to remove by death our late President, John E. Hudson, therefore—

"*Resolved*: that we hereby desire to give expression to our deep sense of the great loss which the Company has sustained by this sad event.

"*Resolved*: that we take this occasion to testify to the high esteem and personal regard in which Mr. Hudson was held by those interested in the management of this Corporation. Becoming associated with its affairs, first, in 1880 as its general counsel, afterwards acting as general manager and then as President, he displayed exceptional legal ability and business knowledge, grasping quickly and firmly the scope and value of the large and widely extended interests of this growing Corporation, gaining the respect and confidence of its directors and licensees, as well as of the public, and contributing in large measure to its remarkable success."

During the last year of his life, Mr. Hudson was a member of the Corporation of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Upon the announcement of his death, the Corporation recorded their grateful appreciation of the active interest in the welfare of the Institute displayed by him during his brief service as a member of the Board; and of the benefits by him conferred upon the Institute during the many years of his service as President of The American Bell Telephone Company, when he was ever ready to act most liberally in accordance with his belief that a corporation engaged in the application of the results of scientific research to commercial use is under a perpetual obligation to promote the growth of technical schools.

Mr. Hudson was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society, April 25, 1894. Although his busi-

ness engagements did not permit him, from time to time, to take a prominent part in the proceedings of the Society, he was always in full sympathy with its work; and he took a very keen interest in its statute meeting held at Boston, April 25, 1900:

Mr. Hudson was a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; and a member of the British Association for the Advancement of Science; the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, of which he was Vice-President; the Colonial Society of Massachusetts; the Bostonian Society; the Bar Association of the City of Boston; the American Institute of Electrical Engineers; the Virginia Historical Society; and also of the Boston Art, the St. Botolph, the Union, the Algonquin, the Exchange, the University and other social clubs.

Mr. Hudson was a fine exemplar of the scholar in business. His proficiency in Greek has already been mentioned. During his legal life he contributed somewhat to the law reviews; and in 1879 he edited, jointly with George Fred Williams, the tenth volume of the United States Digest. The analysis of the law, first made in this volume, has been followed in a large number of digests and indexes in general use throughout the United States, and is the basis of the classification adopted for the Century Edition of the American Digest.

But to comprehend fully Mr. Hudson's scholarly tastes and attainments one must follow him to his beautiful home library where, in the delightful companionship of his second self, he made himself familiar with much of the best thought that has been expressed in literature, science and art.

It is appropriate that this memoir should close with the following extract from remarks made by the Reverend James DeNormandie, the officiating clergyman at the funeral of Mr. Hudson, held in Beverly, October 3, 1900.

"Life meant to him something more than abundance of things; it meant also a well-stored mind, a genial spirit, a ready sympathy, an earnest purpose, a friendly companionship and a pure love.

"Rich in experience, wise in counsel, calm in judgment, varied in culture, gifted in conversation, tender of heart, we part to-day with a rare and noble soul.

"Here was one who stood for the higher things, and who at once lifted us up to them. His early years carried him back to those associations, companionships, inheritances which make the finest type of our New England character. These were in his very fibre and these he always held to, deepened and enriched. He loved the best literature, and the whole realm of knowledge, even to its latest researches and revelations, was to him of the intensest interest."

F. B.

Charles Jeremy Hoadly, LL.D., son of William Henry Hoadley and Harriet Louisa Hillyer, was born August 1st, 1828, in Hartford, Connecticut, and died there October 19th, 1900. He was descended from William Hoadly, an early settler of Guilford, probably a kinsman of John Hoadly of the same town, who returned to England and became the grandfather of Benjamin Hoadly, bishop of Winchester, and John Hoadly, archbishop of Armagh. The mother of Dr. Hoadly,—who returned to the ancestral spelling of his name,—was the daughter of Colonel Andrew Hillyer, a colonial soldier, and Lucy Tudor, whose father, Dr. Elihu Tudor, was the surgeon's mate with General Wolfe when he fell, and whose mother was Lucretia Brewster, a descendant of the Plymouth elder.

In his youth Dr. Hoadly manifested a passion for books. He was prepared for college in the Hopkins Grammar School of Hartford, entered Trinity College in 1847 and was graduated as the valedictorian of the class of 1851. It was then his intention to practise law, and while engaged in the office of Henry Barnard, LL.D., then superintendent

of public instruction, he began his studies with Welch and Shipman, the latter now circuit judge of the United States. His education thus gave him a large acquaintance with legal authorities, and he was admitted to the bar in 1855, though he never practised. In 1854 he was appointed librarian of Trinity College. This position, however, he soon surrendered, for in April, 1855, the State claimed him as custodian of its library, which had begun to assume some importance.

As librarian of the state of Connecticut for forty-five years Dr. Hoadly did his greatest public service. Two years before his death he tendered his resignation on account of impaired eyesight, but the state authorities refused to accept it. This action testifies to the honor in which he was held by lawyers, legislators and historians, many of whom sought him as he sat at his desk in the library hall, and received valuable information which this scholar had stored in his tenacious and accurate memory. The state library owes its extent and quality to his fostering care. He was also custodian of the state archives. Among them he had made extensive researches which greatly augmented his knowledge of Connecticut history. It will always be regretted that he did not publish the full results of his studies. The work he did, however, is of lasting value. In the publication of the "Colonial Records of Connecticut" he followed Dr. Trumbull's three volumes with the remaining twelve of the series. He also issued the "New Haven Colonial Records" in two volumes, and the same number of a series on the "Records of the State of Connecticut," leaving a third nearly ready for the printer. He was one of the commissioners who prepared Vols. V. and VI. of the "Special Laws of Connecticut." In 1856 he edited Goodwin's "Genealogical Notes" and in 1895 Bulkeley's "Will and Doom," in the third volume of the Connecticut Historical Society Collections. His published papers are:—"Silas Deane" (*Pennsylvania*

Magazine of History, 1877); "Some Early Post-mortem Examinations in New England," read before the State Medical Society in 1892; "A Case of Witchcraft in Hartford" (*Connecticut Magazine*, 1899); "The Hiding of the Charter" (Acorn Club, 1900); "Holidays in Connecticut"; "The Public Seal of Connecticut"; and "Town Representation in the General Assembly," the last three printed in the *Connecticut Register*. His connection with Christ Church, of which he had been a vestryman since 1862 and parish clerk from 1864 to 1879, led him to prepare for its Semi-Centennial in 1879 the "Annals of the Episcopal Church in Hartford to the Year 1829." This was printed in 1880 and reprinted in Russell's history of the parish in 1895.

In 1854 Dr. Hoadly received from his alma mater the degree of Master of Arts, in course, and the same degree, *honoris causa*, was conferred upon him by Yale College in 1879. He was made a Doctor of Laws by Trinity College in 1889. In this institution he was deeply interested, being a generous contributor to its library, a trustee since 1865 and secretary of the corporation for two periods, 1865-1876, and 1888-1896. He became a member of the Connecticut Historical Society November 7, 1854, was its corresponding secretary from 1863 to 1889 and its president from May 22, 1894, to his death. He was a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and a corresponding member of many state historical societies. The American Antiquarian Society elected him to its membership October 21, 1891.

At his death Dr. Hoadly was honored by the state which he had served, by the citizens of Hartford and his fellow communicants who gathered at his funeral in Christ Church and by a large circle of intimate friends who attended his burial in Cedar Hill Cemetery. He never married, and the treasures of this diligent antiquary and accomplished

historian are left to the disposition of his brother Mr. George E. Hoadly, of Hartford. An excellent portrait of our associate is preserved in the hall of the Connecticut Historical Society.

W. D. L.

For the Council,

SAMUEL A. GREEN.

[The foregoing memorials were written by George P. Winship, Charles C. Smith, Daniel Merriman (with note by Alfred D. F. Hamlin), Edward E. Hale, Francis Blake and William DeLoss Love.]

THE BOSTON MASSACRE,

MARCH 5, 1770.

BY SAMUEL A. GREEN.

THE Boston Massacre of March 5, 1770, has different meanings to different persons, varying as seen from individual standpoints. To some minds the resistance then made to British authority was the outcropping of a thoroughly lawless and riotous spirit of a mob, utterly beyond all excuse; while to others it was the last expression of a deep hostility to the mother country, which was not only justifiable but praiseworthy. For some years before the massacre a feeling of strong animosity against England was growing rapidly among the Colonists, though there was no one then so wild as to expect or even to favor independence. During this period the gulf between the two parties was gradually widening, and the general trend of public affairs was against reconciliation. Under such conditions it is hardly to be supposed that the surface would remain smooth and unruffled; but, on the contrary, it is natural that it should have been disturbed more or less by sympathy and prejudice.

Various causes had been at work to sow the seeds of political discontent. Among the earliest was the passage of the Stamp Act by the English Parliament in 1765, which was repealed, however, during the next year, as the crown authorities found it impossible to enforce the law. Another cause, the next in point of time, was the arrival of a British fleet in October, 1768, bringing to Boston from Halifax two regiments of soldiers. The town had made no provision for the accommodation of these troops,

and the inhabitants protested vigorously that the government had no right to quarter soldiers on them in time of peace, without the consent of the General Court. For the first night after their arrival, some of the troops found shelter in Faneuil Hall, while others bivouacked on the Common; and it was several weeks before the needed barracks were obtained. The arrival of these two regiments, sent in order to suppress popular movements, was considered by the sober-minded people of the town, if not as an insult and a threat, then surely as an impolitic step on the part of the English government. Ever since the passage of the Stamp Act, mutterings of continued discontent were heard; and for some years the political atmosphere was hazy, and the outlook threatening. The elements of a general explosion were all present, and it required only a certain combination of circumstances to produce the spark that would fire the train. It is difficult now in these piping times of domestic peace fully to appreciate the deep feeling of hostility to the Crown which then existed in the town of Boston. The population was a homogeneous one, made up of 12,000 or 15,000 inhabitants, God-fearing and law-abiding people, who saw a small army quartered in their midst. They had made protest after protest, but all of no avail. The popular leaders claimed that troops thus quartered, in time of peace, without the consent of the Legislature, was as much a violation of their chartered rights, as the posting of an army on the banks of the Thames, without the consent of Parliament, would be contrary to the English Constitution.

There were two classes in the community: one class comprising a great majority of the population, who later became known as patriots; and the other made up largely of office-holders, and men of a conservative turn of mind, who became known as tories. The line of demarcation separating these two sets of persons each year was becom-

ing more and more distinct, and the gap between them was gradually growing wider and wider. The young men, as they came upon the stage of action, sided with their sires, and helped to mould public sentiment. The feeling of the town and neighborhood was in favor of large and broad liberty in all matters concerning the province or the person, but the idea of separation from the mother country had not as yet entered their minds. To them the ubiquitous presence of armed men in the streets was a continual menace and threat, though they were there to keep order and to enforce law; and the sight of a scarlet uniform was as irritating to them, as a red flag is supposed to be to a mad bull. For two years this irritation had been increasing, and it soon became an inflamed spot on the body politic. What at the outset was little more than a deep feeling, in time developed into bitter and rampant hostility, engendered by the sight of uniformed men. The conditions were all favorable for a clash between the civil and military authorities; and from time to time disputes and disagreements arose, but fortunately they subsided without open rupture. A flint and a piece of steel, brought into sudden contact with each other, will produce a spark, but not more surely than an irresponsible crowd will break the peace, when the individual members are pushed to extremities, and their patience is exhausted. Oftentimes they are smarting from half-forgotten injuries and insults which in the excitement of the moment rise up and add fuel to the flames, and thus unconsciously intensify the hatred. Under such conditions rebellions arise, and revolutions begin. If the uprisings are put down, they are called rebellions; but if they are successful, they become revolutions and are so recorded in history. Success is the touchstone by which they are judged.

In derogation of the massacre, it has been said that the crowd which opposed the soldiers on that memorable

occasion was a mob, and that the victims of that evening met their just fate and died "as a fool dieth." Perhaps it was a mob; but if so, the line separating them from the men who fell on Lexington green is both indistinct and undefined. If the American Revolution had not proved successful, the minute-men of that period would have figured in history as rioters and law-breakers. No monuments would have been raised to their memory, and no words spoken in praise of their deeds. In street brawls both sides are apt to be in the wrong, though not necessarily to the same degree. The cause of this lies far down in the frailties of poor human nature, and some allowance must be made for individual imperfections. The various crises in the world's history are in obedience to natural forces which break out at one time or another. They are part of an unknown plan which governs human action, and the power behind them is irresistible.

As a rule people are never moral or virtuous who are not happy; and in the interest of morality and religion, it is the duty of communities to cultivate cheerfulness and happiness. The framers of the Constitution of Massachusetts recognized this truth when they were performing their labors. In one of the chapters of the Constitution, they laid down the general proposition that wisdom and knowledge as well as virtue, diffused generally among the mass of the people, were necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties; and that wisdom and knowledge and virtue were dependent on many conditions, among which were good humor and all social affections. In other words, contentment lies at the foundation of character.

The active participants in the massacre, on the part of the town, were men of humble origin and of no particular social standing in the community, but they had the sympathy of their neighbors; and the victims of that eventful evening received every mark of sincere sorrow when they

were laid away in their silent graves. *The Massachusetts Gazette: and the Boston Weekly News-Letter*, March 15, 1770, says:—

“It is supposed their must have been a greater Number of People from Town and Country at the Funeral of those who were massacred by the Soldiers, than were ever together on this Continent on any Occasion.”

This short paragraph shows the feeling of public sentiment at the time of the event better than statements made in recent years that the whole affair was a mob, and that it was not upheld by the good sense of the community.

If you please to call it so, the participants may have been a mob, a tumultuous crowd incited to violent deeds. Human action cannot always be measured by rule, but it is governed by individual feeling. Each one of us is conscious of his own frailties, and we all know our own short-comings. Whether a man belongs to the upper-ten of society, or the lower-ninety, the motives of action are similar, if not the same, for there is a good deal of human nature in mankind. Theoretically the massacre—whether viewed from the side of the aggressor or the aggrieved—was a lawless act, but it found a place in the evolution of events which brought about great results. Such popular convulsions sometimes bring forth fruit that in the long run ripens and mellows: “first the blade, then the ear; after that, the full corn in the ear.” The participants, on the part of the people, were the pioneers who blazed the way to be travelled by others; and they marked the trail that led to the separation of the Colonies from England. They had their rough duties in the community, and while, perhaps, they were not models of propriety in daily life, they each were parts needed in the grand make-up of the whole. Men of their class helped to form public opinion which supported independence, and hastened the day when it was declared. In connection with other actions deemed

riotous by conservative persons, the massacre was as essential to the final and complete result as some of the more orderly and parliamentary proceedings.

Finis coronat opus. "The end crowns all," says Shakespeare; and we have to judge the whole by the result. The action of that evening, lawless though it were, was a step in the stairway that a few years later led up to the Declaration of Independence. The Boston Tea-Party also was a rung in the ladder leading up to the same plane, — which was equally lawless, but productive of great and good results. That, too, constituted a phase in evolution. No great deed in history is ever all right or wholly wrong, but it is more or less composite, and must be judged by the general effect. The motives actuating different persons are not always clear, sometimes they are good, and sometimes bad, but generally they are complex in the same person.

The immediate victims of the massacre were Crispus Attucks, Samuel Gray, and James Caldwell, who were killed outright; and two others, Samuel Maverick and Robert Carr, who died soon afterward from their injuries. Six others were badly wounded, of whom one, Christopher Monk, a lad of seventeen years, for a long time after the affair dragged out a miserable existence, and more than once is mentioned by John Hancock, in his oration on the fifth of March, 1774.

Owing to a combination of circumstances, the first man here named, Crispus Attucks, has acquired a local notoriety throughout the limits of this Commonwealth, and by reason of his racial origin he has gained a much wider reputation among his colored brethren throughout the country. According to universal testimony, in his day and generation he had not made himself a very useful member of society. And why should he have done so, as he belonged to an abused and enslaved race, deprived of all those rights which he valued the most? He was neither a freeman nor

a resident of Boston, but a bird of passage in the town, who chanced to take part in the affray and was shot down in the street. It is said that he was identical with the man advertised in *The Boston Gazette, or Weekly Journal*, November 20, 1750, as a "runaway" from his master William Browne, of Framingham. He is there described as a "Molatto Fellow, about 27 years of Age, named Crispus, well set, 6 Feet 2 Inches high, short curl'd hair,"¹ etc. His name "Attucks" would suggest that he was of Indian origin; and the probability is that he was a descendant of the Natick tribe. Undoubtedly, he represented in his own person a mixture of three races, the red, white and black. Twenty years later, on his way to North Carolina, he turns up in Boston as a transient visitor.

Like many in his position, he was reckless in his conduct, and had been brought up to fear nothing in the line of danger; and he was itching for a fight. It was the most natural thing in the world that he should take part in the affray, and with his large frame that he was the first to get hit. He was the leader of the mob, and the crowd took their pace from him. On such occasions a leader only is needed to kindle a fire which water will not quench. Some of the victims of that evening were not active participants in the affray, but simply bystanders and onlookers. Such is apt always to be the case with those who are present in a street brawl out of curiosity. The innocent are as likely to suffer as the guilty; and when they do suffer, they get less sympathy. Attucks little thought that in future generations a monument of granite and bronze on a public site would be erected in honor of himself and his comrades for the part they took in the State-Street fight; and that his own name, cut in

¹The New England Historical and Genealogical Register (XIII. 300) for October, 1859.

stone, would lead the list of those who fell on that eventful evening. "Thus the whirligig of Time brings in his revenges," and verifies the Gospel saying: "But many that are first shall be last; and the last shall be first."

In justice to Captain Preston, the officer in charge of the soldiers, it should be said, that he was tried for murder and acquitted, though at a later trial two of his men, for the part they took in the sad affair, were found guilty of manslaughter and branded in the hand. The trial of Captain Preston began on October 23, and lasted until October 30, and that of the men on November 27, and lasted until December 5; and it is said that these trials were the first in the Province that took up in time more than a day each. The verdict of acquittal on the more serious charge did not satisfy the people, and among them there were many expressions of dissent. At the trial of the accused it seems somewhat odd that John Adams and Josiah Quincy, Jr., should have appeared for the soldiers, and that Samuel Quincy, the elder brother of Josiah, should have appeared for the people in opposition to the soldiers. A few years later the position of these distinguished advocates was greatly changed, when Josiah Quincy, Jr., had finished a young life which he had devoted to the defence of the rights of the colonies; and when John Adams stood up in the Continental Congress, and together with other patriots advocated the principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence; and when Samuel Quincy, the elder brother, had fled as a tory from his native land, and ended his days under the British flag.

Twelve years ago the Commonwealth of Massachusetts saw fit to erect a monument to the memory of the unfortunate victims who fell in State Street. Memorial stones and tablets had been set up in various quarters of the State commemorating deeds of danger and heroism done in the interest of liberty and freedom; and the question was often asked why no monument had been raised to the

memory of those who took part in the Boston Massacre. The answer was simple ; that these men had placed themselves in an attitude of defiance of the law, and as law-breakers they should not be honored. Further reflection, on the part of the public, showed that the actors in this affair were no more real rioters than those who a few years later threw the tea overboard at Griffin's wharf. In a limited sense they were rioters, and so were many others of that period, who are now considered patriots of the highest type. On great occasions men often act from their feelings or from impulse, and not from their reason ; and their action is to be judged by the result. It is rare that any action, however good and pure, is wholly so ; but it is mixed or mingled more or less, with what is otherwise. It is impossible to square it with a plumb or to measure it by a rule. "The web of our life is of a mingled yarn, good and ill together."

Out of deference to public sentiment, on May 17, 1887, the General Court of Massachusetts made an appropriation for the purpose of erecting a monument, in some public place in the city of Boston, in memory of the men who were killed by British soldiers at the time of the massacre. It is but fair to add that a protest to the appropriation was made by very respectable bodies and by eminent men, who saw in this action an attempt, as they thought, to perpetuate an error in history. There is a tendency nowadays, on the part of some writers, to palliate or readjust the views commonly held by the Tories of the Revolutionary period, and otherwise to defend their political opinions. If this attitude springs from a desire to find out historic truth, it is both just and right ; but if it comes from an *Anglomania*,—as in some cases, I fear, it does,—then it is both unjust and wrong. The great end of historical investigation should be the truth, and this should be sought without fear or favor, and without bias or prejudice. It was no discredit to the early instigators of the

Revolution that, in the main, they belonged to the yeomanry of the country,—the plain people, as Abraham Lincoln liked to call them,—and for the most part they were not cultivated in the arts and graces of life, as they were too busy in other matters to give much time to the frills and furbelows of society. Their accomplishments were of the home-spun order, and sprang from their feelings rather than from their training. Certainly they did not belong to the ruling classes, but they applauded and upheld the men who took part in the massacre. Their sympathies were with them, and when the victims of that evening were taken to their last resting place, the patriotic inhabitants of Boston and neighborhood in many ways testified to the love and regard they bore them. So deeply did they sympathize with these "rioters" that they met each year thereafter in the Old South meeting-house and listened to the oft-told story of the massacre, as related by some distinguished speaker. These various addresses were known as Fifth of March Orations, and for a time they entered into the literary and intellectual life of the town of Boston; nor was the custom of commemorating the day given up until the year 1783, when it was superseded by the celebration of the Fourth of July, which has continued even to the present time.

On the anniversary of the massacre, six years after the event, the great Washington in camp at Cambridge recalled it to the remembrance of his troops "as a day never to be forgotten."

On March 2, 1786, John Adams, in writing an official communication from London, said:—"The 5th of March, 1770, ought to be an eternal warning to this nation [England]. On that night the foundation of American independence was laid." Mr. Adams, probably, was as familiar with the train of circumstances leading up to independence, as any other man; and he knew, more-

over, the trend of public sentiment following the event. If the foundation of American independence was laid then and there, the superstructure which has since been erected bears witness that it was a solid foundation, and such a one as never was laid by a mob.

Again, in a letter to Dr. Jedidiah Morse, written from Quincy, January 5, 1816, John Adams said:—"How slightly soever historians may have passed over this event [the massacre] the blood of the martyrs, right or wrong, proved to be the seeds of the congregation. Not the battle of Lexington or Bunker's Hill, not the surrender of Burgoyne or Cornwallis were more important events in American history than the battle of King Street, on the 5th of March, 1770."

Coming down to a later period, Daniel Webster expressed the same sentiment as Mr. Adams, when he said: "From that moment we may date the severance of the British Empire." The late George Livermore, a member of this Society, said: "The Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770, may be regarded as the first act in the drama of the American Revolution." And in very recent times that distinguished writer and our associate, John Fiske, in speaking of the massacre, has said:—"It is, therefore, historically correct to regard them [the victims] as the first martyrs to the cause of American independence; as such they have long deserved a monument in the most honorable place that Boston could give for the purpose; and such a place is Boston Common."

It may be worth the while here to record the fact that a manuscript plan of King Street (now known as State Street) at the time of the massacre is preserved in the Boston Public Library. It was drawn by Paul Revere, probably by order of the court, and was used at the trial of Captain Preston and his soldiers. It shows the exact place where fell Attucks and Gray, who were the first victims; and in the year 1886 the spot was marked by

circles in the pavement of the street, near the corner of Exchange Street, which represent a wheel eight or nine feet in diameter, with its spokes and hub.

Measured by human life, a century is a long period of time, so long, indeed, that the memory of man runneth not to the beginning. Such round periods have a certain fascination for the average person, who always takes a delight in anniversaries; and these periods offer a good opportunity for a review of the progress in public achievements. Standing, as we now do, on the dividing line between two centuries of the Christian era,—the one that is nearly passed, and the other about to begin,—it may be in keeping with this occasion to change the subject and very briefly to consider the inheritance which the Nineteenth century received from former civilization, and the gifts which it is about to make to the Twentieth. Among the more important ones it received from preceding centuries may be mentioned alphabetical writing, Arabic numerals, the printing press, the mariner's compass, the telescope, the barometer and the steam engine; and among the important ones it soon will give to the coming century may be mentioned the application of electricity, not only for the transmission of thought, but also of sound, and for purposes of locomotion and of lighting streets and dwellings. It may be proper to allude here to the fact that the application of electricity for the transmission of sound and the distant reproduction of the voice was first put to a practical use by a distinguished member of this Society. Besides these gifts to the next century may be mentioned the application of steam to locomotion, whether on land or water, which has shortened in time the distance between continents as well as between far-away cities, photography, spectrum analysis, and various institutions for the amelioration of suffering and for the remedy of evils. The greatest boon to the human race since

the invention of printing, assuredly in the minds of the medical profession, has been the discovery of the anæsthetic properties of sulphuric ether, by means of which to a vast extent human life has been saved and physical pain prevented. It is difficult to overestimate the value of this discovery; and if a judgment were rendered by those who have enjoyed its blessed benefits, the decision would be overwhelming in its favor. Closely akin to anæsthetics in importance is the introduction of antiseptic surgery with its allied science of bacteriology, by which myriads of lives have been saved, to the great joy of parents and friends. These are some of the larger inventions and discoveries; and then there are others so inconspicuous and apparently so trifling that there is danger of overlooking them, though they belong to the great achievements of the century. A case in point is the common friction match, which is so cheap that no hovel or hamlet throughout Christendom is ever without it, and yet so useful that it is found in every house or mansion, no matter how palatial, and in every vessel that sails the sea. Bunches of matches are made by the millions and millions, and broad acres of forests are cut down each year to supply the wood; and in every home they are used without regard to waste or economy. Perhaps no other invention of the century comes so closely in touch with the household and the family in all parts of the world as this necessity of domestic life.

The inheritance of the Nineteenth century was large and generous, but its own bequests to the Twentieth are larger and more generous. It is always dangerous to play the part of a prophet, but I predict that the next century will give to its successor even greater inventions and discoveries than those we are about to give, which have been made during the last hundred years. The next century will lay more stress on the duties and obligations of moral philosophy in the treatment of evils, political and social,

which will inure to the benefit of mankind ; and in many ways it will strengthen the weak and raise up the down-trodden. It will smooth the rough places and soften the hard spots that lie in the path of the weary traveller on his journey through life. It will put into practice those great principles of ethics which underlie the whole system of Christianity, and will make the conditions of daily life easier, and therefore better and pleasanter for humanity.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society herewith presents his annual report, showing the receipts and expenditures for the year ending October 1, 1900.

There has been carried to the several funds for the past year six per cent. on the amount of same, October 1, 1900, leaving a balance to the credit of the Income Account of \$433.12.

By the generosity of John C. B. Davis of Washington, D. C., Horace Davis of San Francisco, Cal., and Andrew McF. Davis of Cambridge, Mass., a new fund has been established to be called the John and Eliza Davis Fund. This fund of \$3,000 is in memory of Hon. John Davis, President of the American Antiquarian Society 1853-1854, and of his wife, Eliza Bancroft Davis. In accordance with the desires of the givers, the principal of the Fund is to be held intact, and the income to be applied to the purchase of literature relating to the Civil War of 1861-1865.

The income of the Lincoln Legacy Fund now amounts to about \$300 a year, which it would seem desirable to make available for promoting some of the objects for which this Society was founded.

The total of the investments and cash on hand October

1, 1900, was \$144,412.72. It is divided among the several funds as follows :

The Librarian's and General Fund,.....	\$40,680.83	
The Collection and Research Fund,.....	17,488.41	
The Bookbinding Fund,.....	6,705.84	
The Publishing Fund,.....	28,583.09	
The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund,.....	10,837.05	
The Lincoln Legacy Fund,.....	5,334.06	
The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund,.....	1,164.42	
The Salisbury Building Fund,.....	5,434.14	
The Alden Fund,.....	1,022.42	
The Tenney Fund,.....	5,000.00	
The Haven Fund,.....	1,433.80	
The George Chandler Fund,.....	567.82	
The Francis H. Dewey Fund,.....	3,633.00	
The George E. Ellis Fund,.....	13,068.78	
The John and Eliza Davis Fund,.....	3,000.00	
		\$143,933.66
Income Account,.....		433.12
Premium Account,.....		45.94
		<u>\$144,412.72</u>

The cash on hand, included in the following statement, is \$3,716.46.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the year ending October 1, 1900, is as follows :

<i>DR.</i>		
1899. Oct. 1.	Balance of cash per last report,.....	\$4,588.71
1900. "	Income from investments to date,.....	7,501.82
" "	Received for annual assessments,.....	195.00
" "	Life membership fees,.....	150.00
" "	From sale of books and publications,.....	138.50
" "	From premiums on National Bank Stock (net),.....	407.00
" "	Mortgage Notes paid,.....	2,700.00
" "	From J. C. B. Davis, Horace Davis and Andrew McF. Davis,.....	3,000.00
	Total,.....	\$18,661.03
<i>CR.</i>		
	By salaries to October 1, 1900,.....	\$3,716.92
	Publication of Proceedings,.....	795.77
	Books purchased,.....	336.68
	Incidental expenses,.....	315.16
	For binding,.....	125.30
	Insurance premium,.....	180.45
	For lighting,.....	26.30
	Repairs,.....	86.14
	Invested in Stocks and Bonds,.....	9,147.95
	Premium on Stocks and Bonds,.....	214.00
		<u>\$14,944.57</u>
	Balance of cash October 1, 1900,.....	3,716.46
		<u><u>\$18,661.03</u></u>

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

Balance of Fund, October 1, 1899,.....	\$40,933.50	
Income to October 1, 1900,.....	2,456.01	
Transferred from Tenney Fund,.....	300.00	
From Life membership,.....	150.00	
	<hr/>	\$43,839.51
Paid for salaries,.....	\$2,785.98	
Incidental expenses,.....	372.70	
	<hr/>	\$3,158.68
1900, October 1. Amount of Fund,.....		\$40,680.83

The Collection and Research Fund.

Balance October 1, 1899,.....	\$17,443.73	
Income to October 1, 1900,.....	1,046.62	
	<hr/>	\$18,490.35
Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and incidentals,.....	1,001.94	
1900, October 1. Amount of Fund,.....		\$17,488.41

The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance October 1, 1899,.....	\$6,444.47	
Income to October 1, 1900,.....	386.67	
	<hr/>	\$6,831.14
Paid for binding, etc.,.....	125.30	
1900, October 1. Amount of Fund,.....		\$6,705.84

The Publishing Fund.

Balance October 1, 1899,.....	\$27,594.68	
Income to October 1, 1900,.....	1,655.68	
Publications sold,.....	128.50	
	<hr/>	\$29,378.86
Paid on account of publications,.....	796.77	
Balance October 1, 1900,.....		\$28,582.09

The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund.

Balance October 1, 1899,.....	\$10,251.30	
Income to October 1, 1900,.....	615.08	
	<hr/>	\$10,866.38
Paid for books purchased,.....	29.33	
Balance October 1, 1900,.....		\$10,837.05

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance October 1, 1899,.....	\$5,032.13	
Income to October 1, 1900,.....	301.93	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1900,.....		\$5,334.06

The Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Balance October 1, 1899,.....	\$1,109.12	
Income to October 1, 1900,.....	66.55	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,175.67	
Paid for local histories,.....	11.25	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1900,.....		\$1,164.42

The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance October 1, 1899,.....	\$5,284.23	
Income to October 1, 1900,.....	317.05	
	<hr/>	
	\$5,601.28	
Paid for electric lighting,.....	167.14	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1900,.....		\$5,434.14

The Alden Fund.

Balance October 1, 1899,.....	\$1,003.85	
Income to October 1, 1900,.....	60.23	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,064.08	
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,.....	41.66	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1900,.....		\$1,022.42

The Tenney Fund.

Balance October 1, 1899,.....	\$5,000.00	
Income to October 1, 1900,.....	300.00	
	<hr/>	
	\$5,300.00	
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,.....	300.00	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1900,.....		\$5,000.00

The Haven Fund.

Balance October 1, 1899,.....	\$1,363.67	
Income to October 1, 1900,.....	81.82	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,445.49	
Paid for books,.....	11.69	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1900,.....		\$1,433.80

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance October 1, 1899,	\$567.99	
Income to October 1, 1900,	43.06	
	<u>\$611.07</u>	
Paid for books,	53.25	
Balance October 1, 1900,		\$557.82

The Francis H. Dewey Fund.

Balance October 1, 1899,	\$3,444.34	
Income to October 1, 1900,	206.66	
	<u>\$3,651.00</u>	
Paid for books,	18.00	
Balance October 1, 1900,		\$3,633.00

The George E. Ellis Fund.

Balance October 1, 1899,	\$12,479.51	
Income to October 1, 1900,	748.77	
	<u>\$13,228.28</u>	
Paid for books,	169.50	
Balance October 1, 1900,		\$13,058.78

The John and Eliza Davis Fund.

1900, October 1. Amount of Fund,	\$3,000.00	
Total of the fifteen funds,	\$143,933.66	
Balance to the credit of Income Account,	433.12	
" " " " Premium Account,	<u>45.94</u>	
October 1, 1900, total,		\$144,412.72

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

No. of Shares.	STOCKS.	Amount Invested.	Par Value.	Market Value.
6	Central National Bank, Worcester,	\$ 600.00	\$ 600.00	\$ 870.00
22	City National Bank, Worcester,	2,200.00	2,200.00	2,860.00
10	Citizens National Bank, Worcester,	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,340.00
6	Fitchburg National Bank,	600.00	600.00	900.00
5	Massachusetts National Bank, Boston,	500.00	500.00	500.00
32	National Bank of Commerce, Boston,	3,200.00	3,200.00	3,488.00
3	Old Boston National Bank, Boston,	300.00	300.00	330.00
24	Quinsigamond National Bank, Worcester,	2,400.00	2,400.00	3,580.00
22	Webster National Bank, Boston,	2,200.00	2,200.00	2,200.00
16	Worcester National Bank,	1,600.00	1,600.00	2,800.00
	Total of Bank Stock,	<u>\$14,800.00</u>	<u>\$14,800.00</u>	<u>\$18,868.00</u>
50	Fitchburg R. R. Co., Stock,	\$5,000.00	\$5,000.00	\$6,900.00
30	Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co.,	3,000.00	3,000.00	5,040.00
5	Worcester Gas Light Co.,	500.00	500.00	1,050.00
25	West End St. Railway Co. (Pfd.),	1,250.00	1,250.00	2,300.00
50	New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R.,	8,492.61	5,000.00	10,500.00
50	Worcester Traction Co.,	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,250.00
10	Boston Tow Boat Co.,	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00
				<u>\$50,908.00</u>

BONDS.

Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf R. R.,... Bonds,	\$3,300.00	\$3,300.00	\$3,630.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. Co.,.....	3,125.00	3,350.00	3,500.00
Chicago & Eastern Illinois R. R. 5 per cent.,....	10,000.00	10,000.00	12,500.00
City of Quincy Water Bonds,.....	4,000.00	4,000.00	4,000.00
Congress Hotel Bonds, Chicago,.....	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,080.00
Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill St. Railway Co.,..	9,820.00	10,000.00	10,500.00
Worcester & Marlborough St. Railway Co.,.....	3,000.00	3,000.00	3,150.00
United States Envelope Co.,.....	11,000.00	11,000.00	11,900.00
Wilkes Barre & Eastern R. R. Co.,.....	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,100.00
Ellicott Square Co., Buffalo,.....	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,400.00
Louisville & Nashville R. R.,.....	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00
Worcester & Webster St. Ry. Co.,.....	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,100.00
American Telephone & Telegraph Co.,.....	6,000.00	6,000.00	6,000.00
Notes secured by mortgage of real estate,.....	32,450.00	32,450.00	32,450.00
	<u>\$140,337.61</u>	<u>\$138,050.00</u>	<u>\$158,138.00</u>
Deposited in Worcester savings banks,.....	358.65	358.65	358.65
Cash in National Bank on interest,.....	<u>3,716.46</u>	<u>3,716.46</u>	<u>3,716.46</u>
	<u>\$144,412.72</u>	<u>\$142,125.11</u>	<u>\$162,213.11</u>

WORCESTER, Mass., October 1, 1900.

Respectfully submitted,

NATH'L PAINE,

Treasurer.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to October 1, 1900, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, as stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

WM. A. SMITH.
A. G. BULLOCK.

October 18, 1900.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

IN THIS my last report of the nineteenth century, I record my heartfelt appreciation of the conscientious labors of my assistants, Miss Mary Robinson and Miss Mary G. Whitcomb. In the hands of my long-time chief assistant, Miss Robinson, the reins of library government have been placed from time to time with perfect confidence. The constant oversight by the library committee, President Salisbury and Treasurer Paine, has been both an aid and a comfort to the custodian of the Society's treasures, whose grateful thanks are tendered herewith.

During the busy six months last past there has been a marked absence of startling library events.

The book of accessions furnishes the following statistics : Gifts from two hundred and eighty-two sources, namely, from thirty-nine members, one hundred and twenty-three persons not members, and one hundred and twenty societies and institutions. From them have been added to the library eight hundred and three books ; sixty-seven hundred and sixty pamphlets ; four bound and one hundred and three unbound volumes of newspapers ; two bound volumes of manuscripts and two hundred and seventeen unbound ; ninety-four photographs ; twenty-nine coins ; twenty-seven maps ; fifteen broadsides ; three framed engravings and one unframed ; two collections of newspaper clippings and one steel plate ; by exchange fifty-seven books and thirty-eight pamphlets ; and from the bindery thirty-one volumes of newspapers and sixty-eight of magazines ; a total for six months to the 15th instant of nine hundred and twenty-eight books ; sixty-seven hundred

and ninety-eight pamphlets; thirty-five bound and one hundred and three unbound volumes of newspapers, *etc.*

President Salisbury has added to his usual semi-annual contribution the first two volumes from the press of Mr. Franklin P. Rice, trustee of "The Systematic History Fund." Number one is entitled "Worcester County, Massachusetts, Warnings, 1737-1788"; and number two contains the "Vital Records of Auburn (formerly Ward), Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1850, with the Inscriptions from the Old Burial Grounds." The editions are limited to one hundred and one hundred and fifty copies respectively.

Dr. Charles L. Nichols has given us—with his painstaking work the Bibliography of the Town of Worcester—the steel plate which furnished the portrait of Isaiah Thomas. It was first used in Little & Brown's issue of Buckingham's Reminiscences, Boston, 1852. I have not been able to find the original painting or drawing of this fine head by Mr. Hammatt Billings. Mr. Stephen A. Schoff, the engraver, under date 28 August, 1900, writes: "In reply to your favour I beg leave to say I have no knowledge at all of the drawing of Isaiah Thomas referred to. When I wanted to make a good piece of work formerly, I used to put it in good shape as a vignette to better please myself, as I probably did in this case. And usually at my own expense. I am sorry that I cannot help you in the matter." Little, Brown and Company in letter of 22 September, 1900, say: "Replying to your enquiry of August 29th, we would say that we do not know that the original painting of the portrait of Isaiah Thomas—from which our steel engraving was made by Schoff—is still in existence. We regret that we cannot give you the information you desire."

The gifts of Mr. William A. Smith have always been of a high order. His latest is "Universities and Their Sons. History, Influence and Characteristics of American Uni-

versities, with Biographical Sketches and Portraits of Alumni" This valuable addition to our college material is an elaborate work in five volumes, which was begun in the year 1898 and but recently completed. It has already proved useful in furnishing well authenticated information regarding some of our own members.

Mr. Samuel Jennison¹ has added to the manuscript material acknowledged to him in my last report, nearly two hundred selected letters dated from 1705 to 1856. They are from the same source as the former gift; having been collected by his father, our first librarian, whose name the only son has so long and so honorably borne.

The Davis Spanish-American alcove has again been enriched by Dr. Joseph F. Loubat. At this time his liberality secures for us, as well as for other learned institutions, a remarkable reproduction of "Il Manoscritto Messicano Vaticano 3738 Detto il Codice Rios."

The contribution of Mr. J. Evarts Greene includes a fine photograph which he has kindly endorsed: "Worcester, September 12, 1900. Ralph Pomeroy, Quartermaster-General of the State of Connecticut in the later years of the Revolution. The portrait from which this photograph was taken was painted by an artist unknown to me and the date is also unknown, but it must have been not far from 1780. His daughter, the late Mrs. Eunice White of New Haven, told me that it was an excellent likeness of her father."

Dr. Mendenhall of our Council has placed in the library "Monographs on Education in the United States," edited by Nicholas Murray Butler, Professor of Philosophy and Education in Columbia University. 2 vols. 8°. Albany, N. Y. 1900. This work was issued by the Department of Education for the United States Commission to the Paris Exposition of 1900. The edition, which is limited

¹ Died September 21, 1900.

to five hundred copies, contains an introduction by the editor and nineteen papers by experts. Dr. Mendenhall's important contribution thereto treats of "Scientific, Technical and Engineering Education."

We acknowledge to Mr. Henry P. Upham the six months' issues of "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," in continuation; and to Mr. Andrew McF. Davis, in addition to his own recent publications, Rev. Thomas Shepard's *Theses Sabbaticæ*, (London, 1651), and his "Parable of the Ten Virgins Opened and Applied," (London, 1660).

A large accession from the Rev. Dr. Daniel Merriman has aided in the completion of sets of magazines and benevolent society reports.

On July 19, 1900, our associate Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis addressed to your librarian the following short but suggestive note: "John and Horace and myself propose to establish a small fund in the American Antiquarian Society in memory of Father and Mother. Can you suggest any specific line to which it should be devoted, whether governed by fitness or by the needs of the Society?" In the short list immediately forwarded to Mr. Davis, the first place was given to the literature relating to the War of 1861-1865. This department having been selected, the income from their fund—at least for some years—will be used therefor. Your librarian's strong interest in here preserving the home and field material relating to the war is most natural. The first two years of that period were passed on duty at home and the last two years at Fifth Corps headquarters in the Army of the Potomac. Upon entering your service on April 1, 1867, his first effort was to complete our imperfect newspaper files of the war period; but with limited success. The high price of paper stock had swept quantities of valuable periodical and other literature into the paper mills, and funds were not on hand for the purchase

of what we needed of the remainders. Other ephemeral publications were sought as gifts or by exchange, and later the more elaborate works. During the winter of 1877-78, when the Salisbury Annex was first occupied, an alcove therein was devoted to miscellaneous writings on what was then called "rebellion and slavery." As an object lesson rebellion was based on slavery, the gallery being used for the former and the main floor for the latter subject. The arrangement, which is by authors, does not include manuscripts, which are in the northeast lobby on the first floor; newspapers, which are arranged by states in the newspaper hall; biographies, which will be found in the alcove of individual and collective biography; war histories of states or towns, which are in their respective alcoves; national and state government reports, which are in the stack hall; or sermons, addresses and speeches, which are duly classified and placed, in one of the north lobbies on the second floor. This wise gift of our three associates, sons of a former President of the Society, will remind other members of a rich department with many gaps which they also may help to fill. A special book-plate is recommended for use in the books, *etc.*, which are to be secured with the income of the fund.

The various book funds established by our members have been drawn upon for the enrichment of the departments which they severally represent.

Mr. John A. Dana's presentation of early imprints is of special value and interest. It includes five volumes formerly owned by Thomas Prince "minister and chronologist," and containing either his signature or his autograph notes. The Dana family of Princeton had retained these treasures for generations, but our friend, shortly before his death, selected Antiquarian Hall as their permanent home. Here they will find numerous companions bearing the clear-cut autograph of Thomas Prince.

Mrs. George S. Howe and her sister, Miss Martha Hobbs, have placed upon our walls, richly framed, "The Last Days of Webster at Marshfield," which was painted by Joseph Ames and engraved by C. Mottram.

Mr. Henry F. Harris has again remembered our department of biography by placing therein Jones's "Life and Works of Joseph Dudley"; and Miss Susan Trumbull has added to the general library, books, pamphlets and maps from the old Trumbull home in Worcester.

Mr. D. Berkeley Updike has added to our collection of manuscripts a volume entitled "An African Story, by Abijah Bigelow." It bears the inscription, "A gift to the American Antiquarian Society from D. B. Updike, Boston, 1900. The book belonged to Mrs. Elizabeth Bigelow (Adams) Updike, and came to her from her aunt Lucinda Bigelow, daughter of the author." Various newspaper clippings relating to slavery have been inserted covering the period from 1819 to 1822. The date of the poem is suggested in the preface by the following: "The general interest excited by the discussion and termination of the great Missouri question first led the author to an examination of the subject of slavery. This examination gave him such a view of its horrors as could not easily be effaced and furnished the hints for the following poem, which was principally written soon after the termination of that question but for various reasons withheld from the public." Hon. Abijah Bigelow was a life-long friend of this Society and a member of its Council from 1817 until 1828.

Mr. Henry C. McFarland sends a copy of his privately printed "Personal Recollections, 1831-1891." His letter of gift says: "One day last autumn making inquiry after a locality in Worcester, I received most kindly assistance at your library. As a very slight evidence of my appreciation thereof, I have just mailed to you a copy of

'Sixty years in Concord, N. H., and Elsewhere,' which it will gratify me to have you accept."

The Misses May of Leicester, daughters of the late Reverend Samuel May, have placed in our keeping the remainders of such classes of books and pamphlets as their father had for many years brought to the library for preservation. We shall miss his kindly face as well as his timely gifts.

Miss Mary E. Liscomb, at the suggestion of our associate the Reverend Calvin Stebbins, has presented a collection of books, photographs and framed lithographs.

Mr. William G. Thompson has made a further addition of educational material gathered by his father, the late Dr. Charles O. Thompson.

Mr. F. Walter Hamilton sends three original manuscript documents relating to Mayor Knowlton's call for troops to quell an incipient riot in Worcester, May 18, 1854. The episode is thus referred to in Sawyer's recent "History of the Department of Police Service of Worcester, Mass., 1674 to 1900": "One of the unusual events that marked the progress of the year 1854 was the advent of 'Gabriel' and his horn. It was not the Archangel Gabriel spoken of in the sacred page, but John S. Orr, a Scotchman with more impudence than brains, who with a three-cornered hat and a cockade on his head, and an old brass horn in his bosom, came to Worcester. He took advantage of the political excitement and travelled about the city tooting his horn, collecting crowds in the streets, and delivering what he called a public lecture, passing the hat for contributions. His lectures generally consisted of a repetition of a few ill-chosen words, principally a tirade against the Papacy and Catholicism, resulting in a disturbance. His best argument was the tooting of the horn. He drew crowds, demanded police protection, and a rough time he had of it. He was arrested the second day he appeared on the streets and on promise of leaving the city was

released. He returned a week later, and on occasion of his lecture a riot followed. Mayor Knowlton read the riot act and the City Guards were called out. He was finally got out of town, and peace and quiet were again restored. He went to San Domingo, where he was placed in prison during one of his harangues, on the charge of being a general disturber, and died before the end of his three years' sentence." Mr. Franklin P. Rice in his "Worcester Book of Noteworthy Events" gives additional facts. He says under date of 18 May, 1854: "J. S. Orr alias 'Angel Gabriel' with his brazen trumpet collected a crowd and began the delivery of a no papacy harangue, when he was arrested by the police for disturbing the peace, and locked up. A large and excited crowd gathered about the Common, when Dexter F. Parker made a speech 'full of sound and fury,' as the *Spy* has it; followed by others. The assemblage soon became violent; stones were thrown, one hitting Sheriff George W. Richardson on the head; and a rescue of the prisoner was threatened. Finally the City Guards were ordered out and the rioters dispersed. 'Gabriel' was a Scotchman, Sandy McSwish by name, although he called himself Orr or Horr. His father was of the Clan Gordon. Sandy was born on the Isle of Skye, September 3, 1809. He was bound apprentice to a weaver. His father having died, his mother married a Baptist minister named Orr. Sandy joined a company of players; afterwards was a Methodist preacher; and then came to America and joined the Mormons. After following various avocations, he finally began preaching in public places against papist authority and foreign influence. He had a horn or trumpet which he blew to attract an audience, hence the name Gabriel. He acted as an adjunct to the Native American or Know Nothing Party."¹

¹ See also, "An Episode of Worcester History," read before the Worcester Society of Antiquity, April 1, 1884, by our Treasurer Nathaniel Paine.

We are indebted to The Worcester District Medical Society for a large mass of books, pamphlets and newspapers winnowed from their valuable library. The duplicates forwarded to the United States Surgeon-General's Office Library, included many early catalogues and other publications of the Medical Schools of America, greatly needed to complete their files of such literature.

The American citizen is not often charged with an excess of modesty, but the librarian of an historical or antiquarian society is well aware that it still exists, especially during the time of spring and fall house-cleaning. We recently received a basket of books of special value with the following note: "I send down some trash for which I do not wish thanks, being only too glad of a place to send it; and shall not feel hurt if you sell some of it for old paper, or burn it." The wise librarian in such case will not only give thanks, but when possible will personally interview the giver. Our late associate, Dr. William F. Poole, when public librarian of Cincinnati, said of the tidy housekeeper who puts aside one parcel for the library and another for the pedlar: "if the parcels are transposed no mistake is made." There appears to be a general disposition to throw into the waste basket ephemeral literature which is unbound; and perhaps this disposition was never more strongly exhibited than during the civil war.

In view of the Society's centennial celebration in 1912, it is thought wise to preserve in the librarian's printed record, for easy reference, any important contemporary accounts of its early doings, or comments thereupon. For instance, *Thomas's Massachusetts Spy* or *Worcester Gazette* of August 30, 1820, contains an interesting narration of the exercises at the dedication of our first library building, with other items regarding the Society and its work, which follows: "DEDICATION. On Thursday last the elegant and commodious building lately

erected in this town for the accommodation of the *American Antiquarian Society*, was dedicated to their use with suitable solemnities. The Society assembled at their new Hall at 10 o'clock, and at 11 moved in procession to the North Meeting House. The services were opened by Prayer from the Rev. Dr. Bancroft, who also read select passages from the sacred volume. The Address by Isaac Goodwin, Esquire, was learned and ingenious, and was received with much satisfaction by a numerous audience. Sacred music was performed by a choir of singers from the various religious Societies in this town. After the Services, the Society returned to their Hall, and from thence repaired to Sikes's Coffee-House, where the most sumptuous entertainment was provided for the occasion. Mr. Goodwin's Address will soon be submitted to the public. We rejoice in the situation and prospects of this infant but respectable institution, which is not intended as a rival to any of the learned Societies of our Country, but to co-operate with them in the diffusion of Science, and in the preservation of materials for the historian and biographer. The Society are indebted for the spacious and durable edifice with which they are now accommodated, to the munificence of the President, Isaiah Thomas, Esquire, who was the founder and has been the patron and bountiful benefactor of that institution. The Library and Cabinet are far more extensive than could have been anticipated, considering the short period during which collections have been making. The former already consists of about 7000 volumes besides several hundred volumes of newspapers, neatly bound and lettered, and a very considerable collection of manuscripts and pamphlets. Many of the books and manuscripts are very rare and ancient; and of some of them it is believed that no other copies exist in the United States. A great number of valuable German books were included in the late legacy of the Reverend Dr. Bentley. We cannot forbear calling the public attention to a late interesting publication

of the Society, under the title of '*Archæologia Americana*,' it being the first volume of the Transactions and Collections of the Society. It contains much entertaining and instructive matter, and is embellished with maps, engravings and cuts, illustrating the objects of curiosity which it describes. The price is \$3, and is certainly moderate for a volume of its size and character. It will well repay the perusal of any one who feels interested in the antiquities of this portion of the world."

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.

Givers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

- BARTON, EDMUND M., Worcester.—Three American magazines, in continuation.
- BENEDICT, GEORGE G., Burlington, Vt.—His “Early Vermont Bibliography.”
- BOWDITCH, CHARLES P., Boston.—His “The Lords of the Night and the Tonalamatl of the Codex Borbonicus.”
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- ROY, J. ARTHUR, *Editor*, Worcester.—“Le Worcester Canadien Directeur,” vol. 14.

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STUDENT CUSTOMS.

BY G. STANLEY HALL.

THE very word leisure with the halo of conceptions about it has a unique charm in this world of toil, moil and drudgery. It is the literal meaning of the Greek word school. It suggests the eternal paradise of childhood. There might be a vigorous plea for a kind of biological aristocracy whose wealth freed them from the need of refraining from what they want to do and doing what they do not wish to do. Such a class, left to the utter freedom of their own inclinations and isolated from all perturbations, might serve as an ethnic compass to point out the direction of human destiny. We could thus cast the human horoscope from what those best by birth and heredity most strongly preferred to do, think and feel. This condition would, however, for the most part be only a prolongation through life of the conditions which actually do prevail in school and college, where picked youth and maidens are protected from the necessities of self-support, exempted from competition, business and to some extent from social restraint, and within the largest practicable limits left free to follow their own will. A strange, fascinating polymorphic human seminarium it is. A chapter might be written upon the effects of the new freedom as seen in the choice of subjects under the elective system alone, and the complex reciprocities and compromises between studies that are supposed to fit for something later and those which have immediate interest. The best of all fields, however, for studying the spontaneous expressions of humanity at its period of greatest vigor during

the entire adolescent period is the history of student life, which has never been considered from this standpoint. Here we have groups of picked young men so associated as to develop every tendency and instinct of their stage of life on Le Bon's principles of the psychology of crowds and isolated from the great world with no other vocation than to develop themselves. Association with their peers gives them a new standard of measuring themselves. The sudden rupture of home ties makes the intense gregarious spirit of our race seek still more intense expression in friendships, club life and perhaps conviviality. Each taste and trait can find congenial companionship in others, and thus be stimulated to more intensity and self-consciousness. Very much that has been hitherto repressed in the adolescent soul is now reinforced by self-confidence, sometimes over-assertive to the point of arrogance. I believe there is no psychic field wherein all the many comparisons now looming up or awaiting definition between the growth of the human individual and the development of the race can be better studied than here, first because these groups are so numerous and second because not only the ontogenetic but also the phylogenetic side is accessible in living examples.

The race factor in tracing this comparison is largely lost for early childhood, because the stages of man's development that correlate with it are just those missing links, which perhaps we can never restore. Whether we agree with Munro, who urges that the transition from the simian to the human stage took place in a rather limited geographical area and in a relatively small time, so that the chance of ever finding intermediate links is very small, or incline to the view of a few of our contemporaries who think the present lower human races are survivals of these intermediate links which threw off shoots all the way from some simian or subsimian form up; or incline, on the other hand, to hold with the polygenists to some proto-human

"urtypus" or prefer the monophiletic theory, psychogenetic work in this field, which may eventually contribute toward the bridging of this chasm, is so far unable to construct iso-cultural lines for a very important period of early childhood. But for the method of parallelism and recapitulation in all cultural matters, the material is nowhere so rich as in student life. On the one hand anthropologists are now giving us more and more exhaustive accounts of all phases and stages of savage and barbarous life almost from the cave dwellers up, while its counterpart makes a large part of all we know of the spontaneous unforced life of our academic youth.

The varying conditions of this life, from those of early asceticism, when students had no fire, went out to walk only under special restrictions, were poor and had to work for self-support as up to recent times in the Scotch universities, rose to early prayers before light, had hard beds, found no vent for their superabounding animal spirits in athleticism, conformed to the rigors of monastic life with its fasts and penalties, or were exposed by overwork and restraint to the reactions of excessive license, rioting, dissipation, theft, pillage, vandalism, and even assaults, rapes, burglaries and murders, such as often occurred in the universities of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, illustrate almost every phase of the secret associations so characteristic of savagery with elaborate initiations, abuses perpetrated on new students, the great religious and sceptical movements, athleticism, self-government, ideals of honor, personal encounters, warfare with faculty and town, amusements and all phases of subcivilized human life.

Unique among the forms of overflowing animal spirits among students, we must place what I may call psychic infantilism or downright babyism. Our returns, rather copious upon this subject though by no means extensive enough to be final, indicate that modes of treating an

imaginary infant lead to other factors in this kind of fun-making. Often, perhaps, with the aid of a dummy, which in some college theatricals is a rather elaborate manikin with various mechanical devices, the child is dandled, trotted, chirped and babbled at, bibbed, kissed, spanked, nursed, rocked, hugged, pounded, and perhaps torn to pieces. Next comes putting the child to sleep with elaborate pantomime nocturne songs with characteristic serio-comic expressions. Baby talk of the most extravagant types comes next with the curiously intermingled factor of play upon the sillinesses of lovers' expressions. Our record shows that some students have become real virtuosos in imitating various types and forms of crying in a way that has strange power over the risibilities of their mates, when duly accompanied with antics, attitudes, acts and facial expressions. In much of this, reversionary tendencies are mingled with extravagant parodies of the effusions of feminine tenderness to babies.

Another feature is the tendency to lapse to interjectional, exclamatory and sometimes onomatopoeic forms of expression, speech music, the intonations of the a's and o's to which modern philologists ascribe such primitive and germinal power at a certain stage of speech development which is marked and distinct. Many shades of approval or dissent and reactions of sentiment are expressed by vocalizations that cannot be called verbal, which letters and musical notation cannot designate, and which in their variety and expressiveness may be compared to the very fecund baby talk I have elsewhere collected wherein the modern philologist may, if he will, now study one of the original and still flowing fountains from which human speech originated.¹ Vocal noise, that is not speech, gibberish, mimicry of imperfect articulation or defect, Choc-taw, no word of which can be found in Mr. Trumbull's

¹ See my "Some Aspects of the Early Sense of Self." *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, April, 1898, Vol. IX., pp. 361-396.

dictionary of that tongue, and nowadays Chinese that has no Mongolian elements in it, the unction of the college yells, a list of which furnishes data for a study by itself, to say nothing of the brogues, dialects, pigeon English, slang, gutteralism, animal noises, mimic instrumentation of many a college song, indicate the strength of this post-adolescent recreative reversion to the well marked gibberish and hog latin stage of childhood, which Chrisman and others have studied.

A marked form of academic relaxation may be designated as nonsense or rather anti-sense. Why the mind delights thus to make utter break with every normal association and every sane coherence and sequence of thought, as if there were really in the world a new "silly cure," it is hard to explain. Mr. Lear's idiotic doggerel, the entire vocabulary invented in "Alice in Wonderland," of which Kipling so fecund as a word creator is nowhere truer to life than in incorporating or adding to in Stalky and Co.'s conversations, Mother Goose and every form of arrant fluid fatuity, bathos and banality, that often challenge the disgust of adults—all these flourish like rank weeds in the mental acreage where professors of language seek to cultivate the prim proprieties of correct and elegant expression. Perhaps they loosen the mental soil; perhaps like slang they are a better vent than Addisonian English for the intense but unformed psychoses of this stage of life. At any rate the sensation of seeing young gentlemen with the first tender crop of beard, hair parted in the middle, with glasses suggesting an owl's Minerva wisdom, and perhaps in evening dress, giving vent at college concerts, class day, athletic or other festivities, to these juvenilities arouses, as near as I can analyze it, a strange *mélange* of a tendency to laugh at its humor, weep at or at least pity its folly, not without a spice of disgust at its wayward frivolity.

The so called orations of Bill Pratt enjoyed by many

a generation of Williams' students¹ illustrate the relaxation of disconnecting the normal associative links on which reason and common sense rest and allowing the intellectual elements of our personality to lapse into polymorphic elements such as we sometimes see in grave mental lesions. Is this after all a world of chance, essentially acosmic, save for the practical order in which man has arranged some of its elements for his own greater convenience and efficiency, and are its factors *per se* just as connectable in any one of thousands of other orders as in those which experience and science have so laboriously built up? If so, does the mind tend at certain times to thus revert to primitive chaos to find therein some intimations of a surcease of every kind of constraint, even that of sense and sanity?

College songs illustrate this. Some are characterized by animal noises,—bow wow, meow, ba, moo, cackle, quack. Familiar ditties and refrains like cocachelunk, polly-wolly-doodle, chickery-rye-co-rye-chin-chan, shoot-i-rool, bingo, uralio, upidee, rum-sty-ho, rig-jag-jig, sweedle-la-we-tschu-hira-sa, tidium-bzt-bzt, rootle-tum, o-tsche-se-no-de-ki; alliterations like zizzy-ze-zum, the grip-car gripman's grip, kimo kemo, the chipper chappie, are in point here.

Banalities in song like, Saw the emerald freshman's leg off, the tinker and cobbler, ba-be-bi-bo-bu, balm of Gilead, Tobias, yah yah, the bull dog, yahe yaho, the endless variations on Mary's little lamb, the catchy babyism of the Sunday-school scholar, some of the love ditties with an intended saccharinity that is almost saponaceous, the recent and notable increase of the negro song contingent with its contagious rag-time, some of the bibulous songs wherein the incoherence of intoxication is represented, and the growing number of songs parodying Bible tales and incidents, illustrate in song at once the spell of

¹ Bill Pratt, the Saw-Buck philosopher, Williamstown, 1896.

extreme fatuity upon the academic mind and also the passion for medley which Lotze so deplored in modern life.

The mind of the modern collegian delights in few things more than in parody. Great ingenuity has been expended in caricaturing many of the famous literary productions, the scope and extent of which lend themselves to this device, and nearly all the great characters and burning current questions and pretensions generally are treated with at least intended satire. Mock heroics and serio-comedies have this advantage, if high themes are essayed, they afford a ready shelter for the disappointed susceptibilities of ambition. Efforts of this class are, however, mostly directed against objects, ideals or sentiments which are not deeply felt by their authors, and this instinct is a beneficent agent in destroying the old clothes of culture and doing its May-day house cleaning. There is always much in every age and community that greatly needs to be executed and buried, and yet is so entrenched that only the shafts of ridicule can reach it. If this often goes too deep and attacks that which is intrinsically and always good, true and beautiful, I believe that on the whole its benefits outweigh its harm. We live in an old age of civilization that has accumulated vast cultural impedimenta that ought to be given over to the agencies of oblivion. The race needs to forget a great deal in the past in order to press effectively forward to the future, and for one I cannot believe with Hegel that satire can ever undermine any of the deeper foundations of belief, admiration or reverence. Youth refuses to be satisfied with anything save the very best; the second-best palls on its palate, and as hypocrisy may be defined as the homage which vice pays to virtue, so parody and satire are the homage that pedantic pretension and dry-as-dust learning and mere convention and tradition pay to the deeper affirmations of the soul. The latter, youth lives by, but is coy in express-

ing, and its negations are a healthy pruning that leave it untouched and ever revealed to the psychological seer.

It has been urged that collegians develop more power of criticism than of appreciation; that they can deride but not create. That this is a grave indictment and is to a great extent just, few will doubt, but the admiration which Ruskin praises is itself incipient creation, or is at least a lower degree of the same power by which the great artist works. I would go further yet and urge that this instinct does not only very wholesome scavenger work, but that its value as a spur to keep professors vital and to perform the gadfly function, which Socrates praised, of stimulating them to keep their faculties mobilized, to grind ever new and better grists, is a sanifying influence. Irony then has its place and work.

The attitude of later adolescent stages toward an earlier, more unconscious and instinctive state is a broader theme. The freshman must be salted, his greenness must be seasoned, and at no period does everything that is naïve seem so contemptible as during the stages when insight and self-consciousness are developing. Never is the mind more highly sensitized to all that illustrates the rôle of the ingénu. The novice who has not cut his eye-teeth, who is unsuspecting and credulous, is subjected to every form of indignity. Even innocence is more or less despicable and in need of deflorescence. No stage of life so well exemplifies the one-sidedness of Plato, who urges and illustrates in manifold ways how a virtue that is unknowing is no virtue, that to know the good does not make failure to do it more guilty but is half way to complete virtue. The sophomore must put off the freshman and all his ways and works. From his superior plane he looks down upon the preceding year as a pit from which he has been digged, as if he were separated from it by a wide interval, and so each succeeding year is richly characterized in college literature as marked by a progress even

greater than it really is. In Germany the Fuchs, Brander Fuchs, junger Bursch, Bursch, alter Bursch, bemosster Kopf, almost mark great epochs in human evolution. The Bejanus or yellow bill is a callow lout or hayseed, who must be made over by upper classmen into a civilized being. The annual nodes in human growth are never so far apart as at this age and never so accentuated as in academic life. Ignorance and insouciance are to be initiated into the mysteries of a real knowledge of life, each class by the paternal culture of the sager class above it. One of the strongest currents of college caricature and satire is directed against the dress, manners, home-bred ideas of religion and practical morality of the novice, who is also carefully excluded from certain privileges reserved by force if need be for each higher class. From doing nothing with consciousness to doing all with it is the inarticulated and unformulated but dominant ideal.

Early boyhood is imitated, mocked and mimicked with great gusto by collegians. At Yale seniors for many student generations have taken pleasure in reserving for themselves alone the right to play top, marbles and hoop. The annual peanut bum at Yale; the molasses candy society at Amherst; the hawkey-hurley club; all the ways of the good and bad pupil at school and the Sunday-school scholar,—are the theme of many an extravaganza in song, game, college theatrical, *etc.*¹

Feminism so far as the histories of academic life show is a modern fad relatively unknown in mediæval times. Now we have old maid clubs and clatches, female impersonations sometimes even in falsetto, very clever mimicries, every item of woman's ways, handkerchief, fan, motion,

¹ For many of the facts and dates in what follows I take pleasure in acknowledging my indebtedness to my former pupil, Henry D. Sheldon, whose memoir accepted at Clark University last summer as a dissertation for the degree of Ph.D. is soon to appear in book form from the press of D. Appleton & Co. entitled "Student Life and Customs." To this work as by far the best treatise on the subject the reader is referred.

gait, toilet, every art of the coquette and even the *allumée* from the age of dolls on to the stage of maturest college widowhood are felt and acted out, characterized in journalistic skit with a verisimilitude that excites grave reflection. Can a truly manly nature thus devirilize himself and take on so naturally all the secondary qualities of the other sex without evincing either defective masculinity or else tending to induce feminism. The best female impersonators, so far as my observation and inquiry go, are those who in form, voice, or natural disposition suggest deficient and sometimes even abnormal sexual development. We know too from the sad and unspeakable new chapter of psychology that deals with aberrations in this field, that the passive pediatist has special gifts or abilities in the line of acting female rôles. As long as this is well seasoned with rough and rather coarse mannishness, thinly veiled with gown and affectation of the ways of womanhood, it is harmless, but I am convinced from considerable study in this field that the modern refinements now so prevalent in this direction tend to psychic emasculation, and that some traces of a corresponding danger are imminent in the converse impersonation of male parts by college girls.

It is well established that during a few years which precede pubescence, boys are prone to illustrate certain definite traits of savage life. Their organizations (as Mr. Sheldon has shown), if spontaneous are likely to be predatory. So college life repeats this tendency in a secondary way. In a leading college lately a cave elaborately fitted up was discovered with the beginnings of a kitchen midden of bottles and chicken bones, as the home of the H-E-O-T-T- society. These letters, so mystifying to outsiders, stood to the initiated for "Ho, every one that thirsteth." The "rangers," an interesting organization of a university of the far west; the old pandowdy club of Bowdoin, one function of which was the barbaric serenade of hated professors; the "rauters" of the University of

Virginia, who robbed hen and turkey roosts, shaved the manes and tails of horses, *etc.* ; clubs sometimes extemporized for a season and sometimes lasting for decades devoted to corn roasts, watermelon stealing, the piebald painting of houses, collections of gates, pig roasts ; ghost clubs to terrorize those who fell under their ban ; associations to mortify in many ways the pride of individual students or townspeople and sometimes inflicting grave injury ; societies for roguish pilfering, sometimes of kitchens, gardens, barnyards, stables, sometimes for squirrel and other hunts ; every form of rowdyism and sometimes excursions on holidays or vacation wanderings and migrations,—all these are outcrops of tendencies dominant in and characteristic of savage but repressed in civilized life, but are of course here veiled and more or less condoned to self and others as practical jokes. In one code a freshman's room and even his trunk may be robbed of all valuables, and only pipes, collars, neckties and canes kept. Edibles of all sorts, whether a box from home or a class banquet, are the property of whoever can get them by strategy or force, but booty or plunder is sometimes preserved and handed down to classes or societies as tokens of prowess. All this is excused, now to greater and now to less extent, with margins ever vacillating with time and marked by great geographical variations. Youth must have its fling, and the warm place that such escapades hold in the memory of adult alumni still serves to protect and even defend them, although athleticism has diverted into healthier channels much of the riotous and superfluous energy which formerly went into these licensed invasions of human right and personal liberty.

In the treatment of younger men and classes, we can mark three distinct forms of aggression into the sacred precincts of personality. The lowest of these is represented by pennialism, which in some respects was hardly less at its period of greatest development than slavery,

and which survives in fagging. The fags of the great English school had to run to any upper form men and the last comer must do his bidding. Sometimes he is sent on a twenty-mile errand; his calves are toasted; he is branded, tattooed, beaten, bullied in many cruel ways which really infringe the criminal code. Elsewhere each under classman is assigned to a member of the upper form, who protects him from alien imposition, but requires services. In the English schools, the latter is now generally reduced to copying, serving breakfast, perhaps making up washing or performing other quite minor services, which tradition has prescribed with great definiteness. A generation ago the fag must play music at night for his master, if so ordered and if he could; must help him safely home if drunk; must look out for the food and drink served in his room; keep his accounts; make certain minor expenditures and perform special mechanical services connected with examinations.

Hazing, which literally means ham stringing, may be described as breaking in raw student recruits, teaching them respect and obedience to upper classmen. In the ancient universities of Paris and Bologna, the new comer was described as a wild beast to be tamed or domesticated, subjugated to the harness. He was dressed as a boar, his ears were clipped, his teeth filed, his hair or beard cut, or even singed. He was green grass to be cured, wood to be seasoned, unclean and in need of purification, he was scoured with soap and sand; and bodily mutilations leaving scars for life were occasionally inflicted. In early German universities, he must be passive and let others work their complete will upon him. He was made to eat dirt and glass; drink from a shoe; and to make him drunk was a common diversion. In one old New England college the custom of parodying the "infare" still survives, and the student is finally put to bed with a pumpkin nightcap. In another institution a similar custom still

survives, with the variant that portions of his body were smeared with molasses. In the colonial college he was mulcted and in one large institution still has to supply balls and bats for the upper classmen. In various others certain articles of clothing are forcibly appropriated. The Yale freshman was elaborately tutored, the upper class orator expatiated for his benefit, in a mock heroic way, first upon the dangers, second upon the honors of college life, and then came a programme of physical treatment. In few respects are college communities more conservative, and we all remember the regrets at the removal of the old Yale fence upon which no Freshman must sit until his class team had beaten Harvard. Everyone knows the current modes of smoking out, enforced speeches and songs, tossings in a blanket, isolation in remote places blindfolded, perhaps bound and gagged, *etc.*, the suppression of which, neither law, college discipline nor the disapproval of the academic sentiment of the overwhelming majority can exterminate.¹

Initiations can best be treated as a class of subjections by themselves. The more we know of savage life the larger we find the rôle of such ceremonies. Not only the great cycle of initiations sometimes occupying weeks by which boys are inducted to early manhood, but many a secret order constructs ceremonials of a very high degree of symbolic significance, designed to impress not only those without, and of course especially the candidates themselves, but also the tribesmen within with the great importance of membership. A ritual is composed mainly from such elements as we see unorganized in hazing, and to this a sacred character attaches. This was the case with the Eleusinian and other ancient mysteries. The novice is observed and studied, and his eligibility is the result of diverse comparative estimates. He then sometimes under-

¹ The recent investigation of the hazing methods at West Point afford an interesting modern instance of these barbaric survivals.

goes a period of probation with certain duties or restrictions. The ceremonial is generally made up in the American college secret societies of two parts: one that is elaborately prescribed and must be followed with the utmost precision, and another that is extemporized and sometimes with special individual adaptations. The impressiveness and sometimes the terrors of mystery are always appealed to. There are elements from judicial procedure like accusation and defence; statement of the candidate's good and bad traits; frequently he is symbolically condemned, executed, nailed into his coffin; and perhaps buried and resurrected to a new life. These procedures are well concealed, but those I know bear plain traces of a depressive minatory or descending, which are sharply contrasted with an ascending and restorative phase. The ethno-psychic relationship between these rites and those indicating the new birth of the soul with a background to both of the resurrection of spring following the death of autumn or the Balder motive, are unmistakable.

Studies in this field show conclusively the inadequacy of the current conceptions of play, whether the surplus energy theory of Schiller and Spencer, the recreation view of Lazarus and Steinthal, the æsthetic explanation of Guyau, or the social theory of Jean Paul; but it is most of all opposed to the conceptions of Gross that it is the preparation for future serious occupation. Indeed, from the above and many other facts already gathered but not pertinent here, I think we must feel justified in proposing a new theory of play, which while not exclusive as others claim to be, I think has quite as wide and important a range of facts and as much explanatory power as any. Play consists, I suggest, in part of reversion to outgrown stages and in the repetition, with variations, of acts and the expression of instincts that growth has left behind. We love to drop back to an older level and dip again into the experiences of the paradise of childhood. The charm of

this consists in the fact not only that we leave behind the stress of the battle line at the front, which our best mature energies seek to advance, but we fall back to a range of memories and experiences that are pleasant in themselves, and automatically repeat acts characteristic of very primitive and perhaps even animal stages of human evolution.

The years of academic life are like a high tableland or a mountain ridge, which we cross in passing from infancy to old age. At each point on it we can best see and feel both ways—protensively toward the future and retrotensively toward the past, as at no other stage of life. Soon childish memories and feelings will mostly be lost to view. The Colegrove and other studies of memory at different ages indicate that a little later childhood becomes a pallid, unreal, desiccated thing for memory, preserved as a useless rudiment, and consisting only in a few chance images. Before this all adult life has seemed remote and unreal, but now the soul is Janus faced, looking before and after in a very peculiar sense.

Thus we may understand another new principle which I propose, viz., it is a range and mobility up and down the genetic ladder peculiar to this age. It is never so easy to sink far below the normal or average sense, intelligence or effort to abject silliness and folly and babyhood; but these moods alternate with the most strenuous and lofty aspirations towards the highest. I have a number of striking cases in my own collections, of collegians who seemed to find distinct relief from the hardest and most intellectual activity in a degree of banality that would defy belief save among the circle of intimate friends who had actually seen it. Perhaps those whose wisdom is veined with the most prelusions of senescence are those who can be most babyish. Some serious young men seem born old and very early lose the power, if they ever had it, to be or feel young, while others remain all their lives conserved youth if not children. Perhaps the former is more common in

those born of parents a little past the age of the most efficient procreative vigor; the latter of parents who have not quite attained it. This power of free and ready movement up and down the Jacob's ladder of phylogeny, I firmly believe to be a resource of very great economic value for achievement. In sleep we fall back physically to a lower philetic level. The forebrain, then the midbrain sleeps, but the medulla never quite sleeps. This functional reversion enables us as it were to tap the freshness and resources of earlier years and prevents the ossification of each stage of the past, like death closing in upon us. The *vis a tergo* of growth which makes us so conscious of every stage in the development of life's programme must not settle into a horror of childhood or despising our own youth, but free movement through all the Nautilus stages of growth renews its charm, deepens and broadens sympathy, conserves the strong deep life of the heart and thus makes the individual more effective when he seeks to storm the height of life or summon his resources for a titanic effort toward the level of the super-man that is to be in the world. Each year as it passes brings a vast and distinct development of soul. The twenty-fifth year, *e. g.*, and indeed every other, is no doubt marked by nascent periods that distinguish it from all years that have preceded or will succeed. Although this rapid progression in the school of life is obscured and concealed till it is currently unsuspected because so disguised by the monotony of external conditions, the advancement through curricula is, compared with it, snail-like and almost imperceptible.

We must not fail to add, however, that there is here some danger of excess. There are those who lack stability and whose average variation from the norm is excessive, and still more whose instability here savors of neurotic or perhaps hysterical disequilibrium. We all know specimens of the type wherein periods of intense endeavor alternate with those of puerility, especially if the recur-

rences are not daily but interfere with the normal rhythm of day and night. There are other rhythms in the male and female organisms which must never be interfered with, and there is an extreme of childishness which no real man can descend to without sacrificing strength of character to flexibility of mood. I hold no brief for any current conception of personal dignity, but praise the teacher who can command his school and be a boy with his pupils. The man of large affairs or office, who enjoys participating in the games of young men; the mother who can, like the stately maids of honor of Queen Elizabeth, play tag with her girls,—these natures can never grow old in the many ways that make age so often uninteresting and even slightly repulsive to the young. This elasticity is one trait in the psychology of genius, and if this can be cultivated, so can also to some degree at least a little of its true Attic salt.

The segmentation of years somewhat over-emphasized by grades and classes tends to widen sympathy horizontally as it were, so that the tendency to exhaust at each stage all its possibilities before advancing to the next is favored. The abuses of the upper classes, for instance, segregate and unify freshmen and strengthen class feeling. We cannot, therefore, regard the obliteration of the class unit and the substitution of associations with those older and younger as an unmixed gain. Again, subordination of educational stages, each lower to the next higher, favors docility, keeps open sutures which might close prematurely, brings pliability, offsets tendencies to precocity and a sense of attainment and finality, keeps the psycho-physic organism young and growing, and impresses humility without humiliation because self-respect can keep itself in countenance if endangered by turning to the stage below.

From the days of Aristotle and Cicero, oratory and debate have been prominent educational functions, and repeatedly in its history this has been the chief focus of

educational endeavor. From the dawn of adolescence, when the pugnacious instincts develop, debate becomes one of its favorite forms of expression. The reasoning instincts at this period begin to knit the mental centres to a higher unity. The association fibres, which connect the various cortical areas, seem to coincide in their growth and function with the instinct to think in a logical, causal, catenal way, as associations in time and place are being made over into those of congruity and similarity. Before puberty mental life seems more connected with the projection system of afferent and efferent nerves which put the soul in rapport with its environment, but now first in revery, which is a kind of rude darning stitch, and then in coherent logical fashion, the mental content is knit together into unity of a higher order. That these reconstructive processes should be highly developed and that this constitutes one of the chief functions of superior education is obvious.

During a prolonged stage of life probably nothing so stimulates this process as discussion and debate. Conversation is never so prone to lapse into disputation. Even the dialectic or dialogue form never performs a greater function in sustaining interest in even abstract themes. No small part of the charm of sociability in the salon and even conviviality in student life arises from the clash of diverse if not conflicting views. The connotations of the very word "conflict" rouse unique zest, just as fear of it in paranoiacs may become a phobia. From Plato down to Berkeley and many contemporary writers, philosophers have often greatly enhanced interest in the most abstruse subjects by their dramatic talent, even though the interlocutors are but abstract qualities or schools of thought personified. The great discussions of the early Church synods and later councils, and the great debates of the heroes of the scholastic age, afford abundant illustrations of the higher form of the instinctive passion of men to

quarrel or to witness a fray. To the doctor's thesis in Germany to-day are often added special points which the candidate offers to defend against all comers, and imaginary responders are often set up if there are no real ones. The methods of thesis and antithesis are most effective and logical, while the orator on the other hand often conjures up a feigned objector or man of straw to demolish. In the old universities, the doctorate was conferred when the novice could defend the propositions with which he challenged or defied the world. The charm of pointing out a flagrant fallacy in the arguments of an antagonist or of a *reductio ad absurdum* of his statements of refutation and rebuttal or even of rallying specious arguments in a lost cause fascinates the youthful mind.

One of the chief institutions of the American college, from the close of the last down to the middle of the present century, was that of the debating societies. Nearly every college had two, in each of which great political, moral and literary themes of current interest were discussed, usually one evening a week with two or three joint debates in which representatives of the two societies met each other. In the best preparatory schools similar societies existed. All who remember these organizations in their prime ascribe to them a very high educational value. Two or three speakers on each side alternated, there was often a critic, a decision, perhaps by a show of hands or by the president, who must sum up and weigh arguments on both the merits of the question and on that of the discussion. There were no seminaries and the dignity of the professor did not invite free and unreserved discussion in class, but here it could flourish with no restraints. Youth is the age of *aufklärung*. Childish views of the great facts and laws of the world are falling off like the deciduous teeth. It is the pin-feather age of spread-eagles; individuality is finding its voice and its own proper orbit and motion; style is beginning to be felt, and diction

almost inevitably falls into some imitative rut—Carlyleian, Addisonian, romantic sententious, pompously oratorical—the omniscient mental gate of the newspaper leader; that of the satirical under-cut, funniness, and all the stylistic affectations seem necessary stages of immaturity before thinking finds out its own way and becomes as individual as penmanship, as it will do if all these copy-hand forms are outgrown.

These societies in the days of their prime were always the centre of interest for some of the best men, and generally brought to the surface another class of leaders than those who excelled in scholarship. Here all social distinctions were forgotten; courses in rhetoric and even logic and perhaps history and related subjects were given a new interest. The library was ransacked for authorities and points for citation; competition prompted men to buy and beg books for society libraries and a new order of champions and of hero worship was sometimes developed. As these societies declined during the third quarter of this century, debates became less studied and serious. The social features that had made their very names attractive paled before the closer friendships of the Greek letter societies, in some of which debates still hold a prominent place, but they are sustained with abated ardor perhaps because conversation has steadily developed in range of topics, freedom and animation, so that the growing social instincts afford other vents and channels for the same interplay of facts and opinions.

In all the German universities, *Vereine* exist for the discussion, formal and informal, of general and of special topics. The Unions of Oxford and Cambridge, which have existed with unabated interest for a number of decades, are organized and conducted in every possible detail like Parliament. Questions take the form of bills which are in the end passed or lost by vote. When these were organized, they were almost the only medium of intercourse

between the different colleges, many of which had their own debating clubs. These unions are often able to bring down leading members of Parliament to defend bills which they are advocating at Westminster, and statesmen find themselves attacked here always with the greatest freedom and sometimes with a rare force and acumen. Here as in all such organizations young men are great sticklers for rules and technicalities, and the details of parliamentary usage are insisted on with extreme strictness and literalness. The Scotch universities have always shown great fondness for these organizations and for discussion.

Since 1889, on the initiative of Harvard College, which had for a few decades conspicuously neglected, if not disparaged this work, a new stimulus has been given and over one hundred colleges are now organized into a league for intercollegiate debate. This movement has introduced a new method, and even style of work. Champions are very carefully chosen after a competition which animates a good deal of previous preparation; the subject is divided so that each debater presents a definite part of it. College rivalry is much involved and generally its representatives are very carefully coached by the professors, under whose tuition they rehearse and are prepared to meet the arguments of the other side. This work has reacted upon the curriculum (Sheldon says), and twenty-seven colleges now offer one hundred and four courses in forensics and allied subjects. These debates rarely reach a high level of interest or ability, and are sadly lacking in spontaneity. Unlike the Oxford and Cambridge discussions they are very rarely enlivened by a free play of wit and humor or repartee.

The dangers of the academic debates are great and obvious, but not insuperable. Often individuals have no freedom of choosing their own sides, and occasionally young debaters prefer to talk against their convictions as an exercise in cleverness. It is unfortunate too to become prematurely interested in one side of any great open

question, but perhaps the gravest evil is the danger of cultivating too great readiness in speech. This tends to superficiality, loose thinking and rabulistic ratiocination. It is a mental calamity to be able to talk glibly upon any subject. Form should be based on and come after matter, and the judicial type of mind which finds or maintains equanimity against the widest diversity of view is not favored. Young debaters, especially of the preparatory and to a less extent of the collegiate stage, are also too prone to wrangle, to raise specious, factitious and even verbal issues, and sometimes to lapse to personalities.

Attempt at self-government by students is essentially an American experiment, and is recent here and has taken many different forms, which Sheldon has collected. One is that of a student court like that of the junior and senior classes at Trinity; another is the selection of student representatives to confer with the faculty on matters within fields carefully defined; in still another form the faculty selects an advisory board and invests it with power to determine and control certain matters along with members of the student body. Disciplinary committees with power over certain offences, even vigilance committees to patrol the halls, censors as in the University of Virginia with its unique honor system in vogue since 1865, a student Senate or House like that of Amherst with power to enact laws, illustrate the various types and degrees of student autonomy. Other interesting forms are on trial at Stanford, Maine, South Carolina, Indiana, and elsewhere. Nearly one half of the smaller American colleges have adopted some form of self-government, which in some is carried to an extreme. There is great diversity of need and capacity in this respect between different institutions and different sections of the country. Many irregularities of student life, especially outbreaks of lawlessness and sometimes dishonesty in examinations, have been materially checked. Students can best detect and best judge

students. The success of all these schemes depends very largely upon the tact and discretion of the president and faculty. In some institutions students on entering are requested to sign a form of contract; in others they pledge adherence to carefully drawn rules. The indefinite and volatilized freedom, which is advocated for the period of student life in continental Europe, it is often said, is less needed in a land where the liberty of subsequent life is so unrestricted as in a republic.

One of the last sentiments to be developed in human nature is the sense of responsibility, which is one of the highest and most complex psychic qualities, and in the development of which our carefully nurtured and protected youth of student age, although perhaps more matured in this respect than in any other land, have had little training. Necessary as is the discipline of this experience, the college is less fitted to give it than the outside world. The learner is necessarily receptive, under authority, in a state of pupilage, and premature independence is always dangerous and tempts to excesses.

The ideal relations between student and professor are those of the antique friendship as described by Socrates, Aristotle and Cicero. The teacher, as it were, incubates the pupil's soul and loves him, and is loved back with a devotion which in a degenerate day became sinful and scandalous. The joy of infecting the youthful mind with the insights and ambitions of maturer years is, as Phillips has shown, the later and culminating function of parenthood. The student of old consulted his mentor for what now would send him to the library. Initiation into life, induction into the mysteries of the universe even more than the transmission of information, was the purpose. The instructor dealt out knowledge as stages of initiation into the esoteric mysteries of life, and thus not only was youth taught but the inculcator himself received an incalculable moral inspiration to avoid everything unworthy in

word, deed or manner, to be an heroic ideal and almost an object of worship for his protégé.

Academic teaching has lapsed far from this ideal ; partly from the reactions against the sensuous abuses of these most intimate of all ancient relationships, partly because instruction is no longer individual but in groups, but especially because teaching itself has degenerated to a trade. Of old, pupils were inspired ; now they are driven. Their highest powers of endeavor were evolved ; now they are often suppressed. Hard as is the doctrine for us pedagogues, I am convinced that in general, disciplinary troubles have been inversely as the power of teachers to rise to the ideal of their vocation. The history of academic life shows that just at those periods when curricula have been most impoverished, method most unnatural, and matter most remote from the great natural springs of human interest, student life has degenerated, and oscillations, even to the extremes of severity of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when mature youth were flogged, forbidden to go out without surveillance, compelled to observe severe parietal rules or ascetic rigors, or to the other extreme of license which followed, when students robbed, raped and murdered the townspeople and were guilty of every unbridled excess and hostile to every form of restraint. In place of the old amity, students and professors have ceased to trust and even grown suspicious of each other. Within very recent decades and often now, student censure is meted out to those who call upon an instructor socially, seek information about reading or studies ; and the familiar terms, bootlicks, blues, curriers, piscatores, indicate the ostracism experienced by those who seek the goodwill of instructors. Widespread convention sanctions reticence and perhaps even lies to the faculty, and every act known only to one's fellow students is almost as secure of betrayal as if done in some organization pledged to secrecy. The history of American

college life abounds in both open and covered hostilities, sometimes with personal assaults upon the members of the faculty, but more often in the form of concerted rebellion. College revolts of old were based more often upon complaints regarding commons' food, but suspicions of favoritism, any increase of the wonted stint of study or augmented rigor of examination, suffices. The latter caused the famous Harvard outbreak of 1790, which was not settled for seven years. The Harvard rebellion of 1766 interrupted work for about a month. Still more serious rebellions occurred there in 1807 and 1830. In the southern colleges, riots have been not infrequent. In 1808 about one half the students were expelled from Princeton; in 1845 all the students but two freshmen were expelled from another institution; a State university not many years ago expelled the entire senior class. An attempt a few decades since to pledge each college to refuse admission to students expelled from another soon failed. These revolts have had their literature and show that not only classes but often the entire student body can become unified by sentiment and even by organization, and offer no exception to the law of mobs in which sometimes the worse occasionally but always the bolder spirits lead those who are by nature orderly. Indeed some of these troubles have been abundantly justified and have brought great and lasting reforms.

In Bologna and in Paris, there were student strikes and boycotts, and more than once the entire body under the lead of the Nations withdrew from town and either dictated terms before they would return, defying sometimes even the Pope, or withdrew to another seat. Here too the students were sometimes all right and the faculties all wrong but usually better wisdom and rectitude are found with the latter. The migration of 5,000 students from Prague to Leipzig and the exodus from Williams to Amherst are also in point in more recent times. Oxford

asserted the right of appeal from the chancellor. Student life always insists upon privileges which of old were granted in abundance, in the form of immunities from taxation, from arrest save by the university beadle, and incarceration in the college prison with trial by a college court. Until very recent years the German student, who has offended the city's ordinances, merely shows his legitimization card to a policeman and thereby escapes arrest. Free passes, exemptions from military service, reduced fees at theatres and concerts, were almost universal. To-day wherever the whole student body is threatened with the withdrawal of what seems prescriptive and traditional rights, it asserts itself with a force that few faculties can successfully cope with, as witness the efforts at Purdue and elsewhere to exterminate secret societies. The right to celebrate important events in very irregular ways is an immemorial tradition, perhaps even more difficult to suppress than hazing.

American colleges despite the growing freedom of life and efforts at self-government still insist upon a state of pupilage, especially in matters of study, which favors the tendency to regard teachers as natural enemies. Resident tutors and night watchmen about dormitories, attempts to control hours of study and retiring now generally abandoned, the time of being in, of rising, attending chapel and recitation, punctuality, *etc.*, devolve a mass of disciplinary details upon college and university faculties which ought to be outgrown. One of these institutions had lately eighty-three punishable offences specified in its rules, and the parental theory requires great discretion in its administration. The New England professor of the old type feels that there is almost no folly of which a class are not capable, and understands well that if he makes a friendly call upon a student he would be thought a spy. I lately counted eleven men asleep at a popular elective lecture, and the professor informed me after class that he suspected

they were the men involved in a riotous demonstration the night before. Individual instructors are constantly suspected of punishing real or imaginary offences by consciously or unconsciously increasing the rigors of the pass mark for recitations and examinations. Great as the improvement in recent years, especially under the elective system and athletics, vast progress is yet necessary.

Just in proportion as young men are absorbed in intellectual interests, and as professors are able and inspiring enough to dominate these interests of the class, this antagonism diminishes. It increases just in proportion as the chief interests of students are outside the special work of the classroom, laboratory or seminary, and as the professor becomes arid and barren. We often see the spectacle of new men or new subjects acting as the nucleus of a radical change of sentiment throughout the student body in this respect. Youthful sentiment is right. There is nothing more worthy of being the butt of all the horse play of ephebic wit or practical joke than an instructor from whose soul the enthusiasm of humanity has vanished, who has ceased to know and grow, and who serves up the dry husks of former knowledge and peddles second and third hand information, warmed up from year to year, rather than opening new living fountains in which the burning thirst of youth can be slaked. The latter's instincts are far wiser than they know, for iconoclasm is never better directed than against the literalist, formalist and sophronist. The well-fed mind, like the well-fed body, settles to a state of complacency and satisfaction; and hunger of mind, like hunger of body, is the greatest incentive of restlessness and discontent.

Student organizations present very interesting parallels on the one hand to the tribal system, the features of which predominate among younger; to the guilds of the Middle Ages, the ontogenetic analogue of which appears in the higher grades of university life. The Nations were spon-

taneous and democratic associations of students in the great mediæval universities who came from the same place. They found themselves without political rights in a strange town, with their property and even life insecure, and hence united for mutual protection, to tend the sick, defend the weak, help the poor, and soon succeeded in establishing a kind of artificial citizenship which obtained legal recognition. These were most fully developed in Italy, where the power of student organizations was greatest and where the Cismontanes had seventeen and the Ultramontanes sixteen nations. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they were strong in the University of Paris with its four nations,—French, Normans, Picards, and English or Germans. At Oxford they were feeble, and the two organizations—the Boreals and Australes—fused in 1274. In Aberdeen the Nations lingered until the nineteenth century and traces of them are still found in the Finnish University of Helsingfors. In Prague and Vienna, the two oldest German universities, these societies existed; and in the former the Czechs and the Germans have been opposed for six centuries, and in 1409 the German students withdrew to Leipzig. In the fifteenth century the college slowly succeeded the Nation as a unit of student organization.

The "House," as it is still called in the great public schools of England, or the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, was slowly developed from the mediæval hospices, *hursa*, or inns. Sometimes, as at Rugby, it was originally for foundation scholars only. One of the chief works of Arnold was to reorganize it so that each boy should here have a school home. The modern "hall" has the same origin. The first colleges of Oxford and Cambridge were simply endowed inns, where poor students had board, lodging and a common life. At first they elected their own principal, as in some of the earlier universities, and students employed and discharged professors and elected heads. The chancellor of the university, however, gradu-

ally acquired influence in the halls or inns, because his guarantee of financial responsibility was necessary. Later he was able to remove bad principals and forbid objectionable students. In France the colleges were inspected by university authorities and subordinated, but in Oxford they were left free and independent. Here they are still little subordinated to the university, and each of the stronger ones seeks to do its own teaching even in sciences, although with a great amount of expensive duplication; each has its own cricket team and crew, and by this system even in the great secondary schools, the benefits of athletics are widely diffused by the competition between the different houses. This unit of organization, although little known in this country, where it is very feebly represented by the dormitory and nearly extinct on the continent, was far superior in the strength of its bond or its *esprit du corps* to the Nation.

The Landsmannschaften, the German analogue of the Nations, after an eventful career were forbidden in the eighteenth century, but dragged out a long subterranean existence. They were originally territorial (Thuringian, Schwabian, Westphalian), and soon adopted some of the features of pennialism for their novices, inducted to full membership with initiation ceremonies, held a catechism on the beer Komment, with awful condemnations to infamy of all "renonciers" or betrayers of secrets or those who refused to obey orders of the council, and had their ribbons, ciphers and ceremonial kiss. The Komment treats of honor, a most intricate and wonderful thing in those days, how it was to be gained, kept, attacked, regained, and suggests the Japanese Bushido. The sword was its talisman and instrument, and many of the terms and forms of the French duel were introduced. The Landsmen could be decreed dishonorable on sixteen points; knew no obligations to Philistines or townsmen; were good swordsmen, the best of whom were ambitious to score a hundred duels;

must fight all former colleagues if they wished to enter another society; and were sometimes guilty of riots, marauding, and of excesses occasionally almost bestial in their beer duels and other drinking habits. It was two of these societies that the philosopher Fichte actually dissuaded to disband and give their regalia to him.

The Burschenschaften, which originated at Jena in 1816, sought to introduce higher and reformatory ideals. The famous Wartburg festival was held in 1817 on the three hundredth anniversary of Luther's defiance of the Pope just at the period of Germany's most intense reaction after the fall of Napoleon. The Burschen delegates partook of the sacrament, listened to an oration by a fellow tribesman, Riemann, already knighted by the Iron Cross for bravery in the French wars, and who evoked Luther to hear his vow in behalf of all to serve the spirit of truth and justice, to repel invaders, not to be dazzled by the splendor of the monarch's throne from speaking the strong free word of freedom and individuality. In the evening twenty-eight books, thought to contain un-German views, were burned, and not long after the Russian court chancellor, Kotzebue, whose book had been burned with the others, to the great scandal of the court, was stabbed by a Burschen theological student, Sand. Before this a small minority led by Carl Follen, a leader of the blacks or extreme left wing, a disciple of Fichte, and who afterwards taught gymnastics at Harvard College, advocated an appeal to force to accomplish at once a republican form of government, which the moral reason demanded. The government accordingly in 1819 abolished the Burschenschaften, removed suspected professors, appointed an inspector for each university, and banished or imprisoned those who still maintained membership. Although the Tugendbund of 1822 sought to perpetuate the salvable part of the organization, the Burschenschaften soon died out, after having greatly reduced gambling and duelling and otherwise having moralized student life.

The more aristocratic Corps developed as this latter organization declined. These are the outgrowth of an extravagant chivalric sense of personal dignity, self-respect and honor, of the passion to enjoy life at the stage of it when hilarity is most attractive, of a desire to knit the ties of friendship as closely as possible, and with a love of sentiment unknown in our American life. The Corps, almost as much as the Nations, had power to boycott. As representing the student body they could launch the ban of excommunication against a student, city or landlord; they developed a beer drinking *Komment* with an elaborate ritual; held that duelling was the only dignified way of resenting an insult. Some American writers have defended it as preferable to hazing, but the code lapsed, to decreeing as insults the most fanciful of offences and even to the arrangement of almost utterly causeless encounters for the delectation of spectators.

The class as an organization came to its conscious development late. Its bonds, although less close and clannish than other forms, have been found to be exceedingly strong, and until the rise of the elective system in the larger colleges the very term *classmate* suggested lifelong ties that strengthen with years. It represents a type of comradeship with far more diversity in it than the Greek letter fraternities; and the reunions,—annual, triennial, decennial,—class-books, histories, *etc.*, touch bonds of very deep interest. Sheldon thinks that three-fourths of the conversation in the charmed circle of class members is of each other, and that to judge character and eternally revise estimates of individuals is a great school of human nature or ethology, especially valuable because of the range of types represented. Class spirit, which is so often invoked, has left lasting monuments in nearly every American institution, and feeble and ephemeral as its organization its ties are strong and lasting just in proportion to the breadth and depth of each member's humanity.

The American Greek letter fraternities are a unique organization, developing to some extent at the expense of the old debating societies, a little as the Corps grew from the Burschenschaften. Sheldon estimates that there are now one hundred and thirty thousand fraternity men ; that there are thirty-eight different organizations for men and fourteen for women, and more than five million dollars expended in buildings. Few things have been so hotly debated as their net good or evil. All the anti-Masonic sentiment has been directed against them, and it was this that compelled the Phi Beta Kappa to drop its secrecy. By students outside them, they are often called undemocratic, clannish, exclusive in a way that impresses some as making life seem cold and hopeless. They are accused of unduly influencing college politics, or rivaling commencement exercises in attraction for visiting alumni, of developing luxurious habits and perhaps worse under the guise of secrecy, of injuring class sentiment, of short-circuiting the expressions of the powerful social instinct which might otherwise be turned into religious work or larger literary organizations, and of narrowing love that ought to be broad enough to include the entire college.

On the other hand, many of the ablest and most judicious men in the country have not only been members, but keep up their interest by large subscriptions and annual visits to the society houses, often elegant and even luxurious, and many like President White, lately of Cornell, have vigorously defended them.

Their strength is great. The effort of Purdue in 1881 to compel freshmen to sign a pledge not to join the fraternities met with disastrous failure. California in 1896 was defeated in this issue. Vanderbilt strove to prevent members from competing for college honors. Michigan once expelled all members, and the Masons expelled the President. Princeton, which abolished these organizations in 1855, is perhaps the only large college now opposed to

them. In small colleges the Greek fraternities have sometimes great power over the administration. The movements against these societies are spasmodic, and sometimes, if organized, end in the formation of a new secret society.

The charm of secrecy is great, and the discipline of reticence perhaps has something to be said in its favor. Its fascination is greatly heightened by wearing the badge somewhat concealed, or by never referring to the organization to outsiders, as is the custom among members of the "Skull and Bones" and of the "Scroll and Key" societies of Yale. Fancy often constructs wild conjectures of preposterous and perhaps cruel initiations, or develops extravagant conceptions of fellow classmen hobnobbing with great alumni behind windowless walls or in secret lodge-rooms.

I have elsewhere advocated at length as an experiment worthy of trial in the appointment of some graduate member, who has specialized abroad perhaps and is waiting for a professorship, as resident tutor, in a few of these larger society houses. The expense would be slight, the presence of such a member would be a most salutary tonic to the *morale* of the organization; he could have ample time and opportunity for advancing his own studies and could set apart an hour for coaching fellow-undergraduate members in his field. If several adjacent chapter houses, representing different fraternities in the same college, each had such a member, each a specialist in different branches, interfraternity exchanges for the benefit of the coaching hours might be arranged. In this way the strength and wealth of the fraternity might be made to support the academic work of the institution; the college might possibly find here suitable candidates for vacant places in its professorial staff; and the friction now often felt between the administration and the fraternity might be reduced. Again, the growth of these organizations, if it continues, may develop ultimately into powerful institutions, which

may some day become the analogues of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, which the tutorial methods here might represent.

The strength of the spirit of social organizations in student life is remarkable. Clubs, sodalities, associations of almost every conceivable sort and for all purposes, abound. Eating, drinking, hunting in general, hawking, the special pursuit of many species of game on foot and in the air, for every kind of indoor and outdoor sport, for the most diverse political ends, for all social reforms, clubs representing nearly all of the great philosophical systems,—stoics, cynics, sceptics, platonists, scholastics, idealists and all the rest, clubs for banterers, for drinking young hyson and stronger beverages, gambling, shooting, fishing, acting, playing practical jokes, nonsense clubs, wine clubs, essay clubs, associations for dietary reforms, for fighting, for wearing plain or eccentric clothing, elaborate organizations of those who stood lowest in class, clubs of liars, petty pilferers, associations for charity, for the propaganda of religion and even atheism, for travelling, for every special branch of intellectual culture and interest both in the sciences and the humanities, and besides these hundreds of pure funk organizations with nothing about them but high-sounding names and officers, who never had a meeting and were never elected,—all these bear witness to the intense pleasure at this age of life of simply being together, or even imaginary social bonds of association, intercourse, and everything that expresses the gregarious instincts so strong in human life.

As we have elsewhere seen, the muscles undergo very great development in adolescence, and one of the most happy but new fashions of academic life is athleticism in its various forms,—boating, football, baseball, field and track events, and the evolution of the college gymnasium from its feeble beginnings only a few decades ago at Yale, Princeton and Amherst. During the early centuries uni-

versity students were training for the priesthood, were ascetics, subdued the body, took little exercise, at most a daily walk with one companion, like the apostles. Sedentary life is particularly prone to reaction in forms of revolutionary violence. If the muscles had always had their rights in the past, the long chapter of academic crime and vice would have been far less black. As a safety-valve for exuberant animal spirits and as a respectable topic for conversation, athletics have been a godsend. In the days of Jahn, Follen and the Turner movement in Germany, physical training was suspected of revolutionary tendencies. Strong muscles, it was said, tended to make men assert their rights and liberties in a democratic way. This, especially in a republic, is precisely the reverse of the truth. An abundance of free muscular activity, not of course excessive or servile, is the best possible cure for revolutionary tendencies. Hence, despite the excessive exuberance with which college victories are sometimes celebrated, athleticism has vastly facilitated college discipline.

The movement came suddenly, and faculties were at first unable to direct or control it. The Georgia legislature forbade it, and abortive efforts to this end were made in several states. At Princeton, Yale, and the University of Virginia it is still all left to student control. Elsewhere recourse has been had to many devices to secure faculty participation. The ethics and physiology of training were not at first understood. The large sums of money coming from intercollegiate sports were squandered, or sometimes tempted to dishonesty, until faculties insisted on auditing accounts, and money was sometimes used to bribe promising athletic sub-freshmen in their choice of a college. But gradually the coarse publicity, tricks and objectionable professionalism have been reduced under the influence of men like Deland and Camp, and while we have as yet by no means learned how to make college athleticism a blessing

to the majority of students or an expression of the gentlemanly love of sport seen at Oxford and Cambridge, where it subordinates all efforts to resort to unworthy methods to beat, there is slow but sure annual progress in this respect. The public craze here in the football season, when the newspapers tire and perhaps turn the heads of the members of each team, so that it takes some time for life to settle back again to its uneventful course, is one of the worst symptoms of Americanitis and one of the chief obstacles to the goal of subordinating the passion for individual distinction to that of winning honor for the team, and of making the glory of the team tributary to that of the college. The larger and higher the unit toward which the loyalty is developed, the better the moral training of athletics. The more the benefits, both of its hygienic methods and its exercise, can be spread over the year and to all members of the institution, the better its function is discharged. The more the public can be understood to appreciate the real points of the game, rather than to gratify the same instincts which tempted the Romans to gladiatorial contests or now to bull-fights and pugilistic encounters, the better. Records are proud things to hold, and if those who excel in these contests instead of being good for little else are really coming to be the representative men of the class, there is progress. The best ideal in this respect is now seen in England, where many if not all of the twenty-one colleges often have their own crews, as well as other teams, and intercollegiate races, which attract great attention and in which the representatives of the university teams are selected, where all types of mankind meet and mingle in the most democratic fashion, and where in general the position of a college on the river is the best index of its intellectual status. Before this ideal is realized, we have a long way yet to travel.

The fighting instincts begin to be serious at adolescence, and their growth rises and falls in animals and men with

love. Glory, which is the reward of victory and makes the brave deserve the fair, is in popular estimate never so great as when it is the result of conflict; and while the human female does not as in the case of many animal species look on complacently and reward the victor with her favor, military prowess has a strange fascination for the weaker sex, perhaps ultimately and biologically because it demonstrates the power to protect and defend. Power always wins a certain respectful consideration for itself, and the law of battle is a form of the survival of the fittest, which has played a great rôle in sexual selection.

Combat and personal encounter have a charm of their own, and one of the first fields for the development of the sense of justice is seen in the instinct which demands a free field, fair play, one at a time, and all the other conditions by which the really best may win. The fights of small boys are bitter, but their lack of strength makes them rarely dangerous. There is very much to be said in favor of some field for this tonic process of developing courage, testing metal, and every other source of strength, agility, and cunning here involved. The psychology of anger and hate is a theme of great practical fecundity for ethics. As fights become dangerous with the growth of strength, law and social convention divert or restrain this instinct, which boy life not only allows free scope but encourages.

Academic history is rich in material for this study. In 1345 the Oxford students disliked the wine which the college provided. A mug was thrown at the head of the steward and the broil grew into a battle between town and gown, where books were torn, buildings pillaged and burned, students migrated, and the Pope withdrew privileges. As late as 1854, in a row, a Yale student stabbed a rioter; the mob tried to loot the college and to batter its building with a cannon, fortunately spiked by the police. For years the Yale bully club, captured in a scrimmage

with the sailors, was transmitted from class to class to the strongest man. Residents of a college town as a class are often dubbed muckers, barbarians, philistines, have always been victims of destructiveness, vandalism and sometimes outrage, especially where the college town is not so small as to be insignificant and not large enough easily to dominate morally and physically the hostile instincts of students. The latter as a class are more select, learned, clever, richer than the average residents of their age, and are preferred by the young ladies of the town, so that jealousy in its most acrid form is almost inevitable on the side of the town, and this is repaid with contempt and anonymous and protected insult on the part of the better organized and usually more resourceful students. Between boarding-house keepers and their guests, tailors and the haberdashers of all sorts, and students, there is always a large surface of friction, where antagonisms are generated and all is heightened by the license and irresponsibility of the more transient collegians, their exuberant animal spirits, practical jokes, *etc.*

Antagonisms with each other are still more frequent, and take many forms from the elaborate code of the duello in its several academic forms; the rushes between classes, cane fights, bowl fights, as in the University of Pennsylvania, and the personal scrapping involved in these and actually incited by football, especially when between sophomore and freshman classes. Class battles under various names, now only a survival, are still sometimes carefully arranged by seconds and set rules enforced whereby the parties are equally matched. Wrestling contests, which played once an important rôle, are now practically extinct; and pugilism has never flourished save under the strict control of the gymnasium as boxing. At Princeton freshmen for generations challenged the sophomores to fight, in immense posters surreptitiously placarded at night in letters visible at a great distance, although interest

centred mainly in the challenge and its effacement. Personal dignity, honor, prescriptive and traditional rights, a factitious and testy honor, still arouse hostile sentiments now generally kept in leash. The same tendency in a still more attenuated form is seen in the tendency of debates to lapse into petty wrangles and personalities ; in the rivalries and competitions of emulation between the various organizations, and in intercollegiate contests of various kinds. It is often seen toned down in caricature, satire and parody, and often breaks out toward the faculty as we have elsewhere seen.

Morals and religion have had a very diverse history illustrating all extremes ; at several periods almost every form of dissipation has prevailed. Drunkenness has offered in its most repulsive form, where at stated bouts students drank out of their boots or the shoes of dissolute women, under their arms, or lay upon the floor while their mates poured beer into their mouths through a funnel to enable them to win a drinking wager. Gambling has been a passion, burglaries have abounded in open day. During a good part of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the habits of German students were particularly bad, and when Vienna undertook to expel harlots from town for the benefit of students, it was unsafe for women to go on the streets unprotected. All the more elegant dissipations of club life have promptly found their way into academic circles, and conviviality and gourmandism have run riot. Self-abuse, we are told, had at several times and places wrought herculean devastations ; and cock fights, falcon hunting, the chase with dogs and birds, bowling, poaching, and many other practices which fashion sanctioned, but which sometimes a too strict morality condemned, have found a congenial home in the universities. The opposite extremes have been no less accentuated. The ecclesiastical character of early university life insisted upon almost every monastic rigor. Fast days, early matins and then college prayers

before daylight, hard beds, no fire, the severest parietal regulations, enforced the rule of poverty, chastity and obedience. In the Scotch universities most students were poor, sometimes walked to the college barefoot to save their shoes, carried all their possessions, worked hard and had no time for play. The old Lycurgus society at Yale advocated a plain Quaker-like dress and life, but the costume was so unbecoming it died. Amherst had a vigorous anti-venerean society, and benevolent organizations in great numbers flourished.

Religious reactions have been extreme. After the French Revolution, a wave of scepticism swept over nearly every European and American institution of learning. Free thinking was the fashion ; and the very small minority who strove to be religious were ridiculed, dubbed *religiosi*, or lap-ears, and held prayer meetings, if at all, in secret. In 1813 Princeton had grown very lax till four young men met covertly for prayer and started a religious movement. In 1802 a society was founded at Harvard to arrest the decay of religion. In 1850 the Wingolf societies of theological students only, were established for the cultivation of religious sentiments. The data are not at hand to trace all these fluctuations. In general in Anglo-Saxon lands, religious sentiments have dominated at nearly all times and in nearly all seats of learning, while on the continent, especially in Germany, universities have been seats of free thought. Perhaps the greatest laxity in early times was that which Puritanism at its rise strove so hard to correct. We have elsewhere seen the effects of revivalism on the American colleges since the days of Whitefield. The year 1820 saw a great augmentation of religious feeling. The next year Brown University had the greatest revival in its history, and the famous haystack meeting was held at Williams, and the Mills society of men pledged to mission work was established.

The religious influence of the Young Men's Christian

Association has been very great in English speaking and especially in American institutions. These associations are now said to exist at four hundred and twenty-five colleges in this country, with more than twenty buildings devoted solely to their uses, and more than twenty-five thousand members — nearly one-fourth of the entire collegiate body. Under their auspices two world federations of students have been held representing eleven different denominations. This organization flourishes best in the state universities, where religion cannot be officially taught. In 1898, Sheldon estimates that there were four thousand young men pledged to the work of foreign missions and engaged in their study, a far greater number than could be employed. The ideals of militant Christianity are in a measure here revived, although there are still some fifteen thousand church members of all denominations in American colleges who are not connected with these societies. Their intercollegiate meetings, and especially their summer conferences, receptions to freshmen, their wisdom in abstaining from class politics, their hospitable buildings, have introduced a new spirit of confraternity. Very often Sunday-school and reform work is undertaken of an aggressive kind, and headed by the Prospect Union at Harvard valuable extension work is done among laboring men, women, and clerks.

College journalism reveals in full and free expression the spirit of youth unchecked. Scores of ventures here have died from over profundity, but light, bright, brief productions best reflect student life. The history of the various attempts in this field, political, social, scientific, literary, poetry and prose documents, all the gush and sentimentality shielded by anonymity, the ponderous John-sonese, bombastic and every other affectation of style, while records of internal events, subtle but true reflections of the spirit of the age—most serious, most comic—elaborate treatment of the most trivial themes and the

platitudinous struggles with the deepest subjects, critiques of current authors, fashions, skits about girls, professors, escapades, athletics, and in fine everything not connected with studies and classroom work make these modern expressions of student life invaluable data for the study of the later phases of adolescence. Here we see the unique commingling of the most radical with the most conservative tendencies. The extreme of sentimentality and fickle titanic yearnings of an age, which is at once most spiritually drunk and sober, where everything is most expressed to the wise but strives for greatest concealment. The philosopher of the future who wishes to study in further detail the psychic expressions of this age, when the wine of life is most actively fermenting, depositing its lees and evolving its higher spirituality, isolated and cut loose from the two great regulators of human activity—social settlement and business—and revealing its own true nature, will find all this and more set down, as if for his use and delectation, in the files of American college periodicals.



LUCRETIA (CHANDLER) BANCROFT.

MRS. LUCRETIA (CHANDLER) BANCROFT.**A LETTER TO HER DAUGHTER MRS. GHERARDI,****WITH INTRODUCTION****BY HORACE DAVIS.**

THE letter presented to the Society herewith was written in 1828 by Mrs. Bancroft, wife of Rev. Aaron Bancroft, of Worcester, to her daughter Mrs. Donato Gherardi. Mrs. Gherardi gave it to her daughter Clara, afterwards wife of George H. Davis, and Mrs. Davis took it to California, where I copied it in 1855.

What has become of the original I do not know, but I am sure that this is a perfect transcript of it. It is worthy of a place in the Archives of the Society from its connection, direct or indirect, with so many well known persons ;¹ but to me it has a much deeper interest from the glimpses it gives of the home-life, the trials, the endurance, the patience of the women who shaped American Society in the days of the Revolution.

Mrs. Bancroft was a younger daughter of Judge John Chandler, of Worcester, whose portrait adorns the walls of our hall. He was the fourth John Chandler in lineal succession in that family, and after a career of unusual prosperity was banished for his loyalist sentiments, to which he owes the sobriquet of "Tory John," by which he was remembered in Worcester a hundred years ago.

The Chandlers were among the wealthiest and most distinguished families in the Worcester County aristocracy

¹ The history of the family is closely identified with this Society. The husband of the writer of the letter was vice-president; her son-in-law, John Davis, was president; her son, George Bancroft, was vice-president; and three of her grandsons are at this time members of the Society, J. C. Bancroft Davis, Horace Davis, and Andrew McF. Davis.

of Colonial times. Starting from the humblest beginnings, for William Chandler, of Roxbury, the progenitor, died an object of charity; his son, the first John, emigrated to Woodstock, then part of Massachusetts Colony, where he gained a firm foothold. The second John advanced considerably in position. He accumulated a comfortable property; he represented Woodstock in the General Court and served in the Indian wars with some distinction as Major and Colonel. When Worcester County was formed in 1731 he was made Probate Judge and Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and he was for seven years a member of the Governor's Council.

The third John moved to Worcester, where he held pretty much every office in the County. He was Selectman, Town Treasurer, County Treasurer, Sheriff, Register of Probate, Register of Deeds, Probate Judge, Chief Justice of County Courts, Representative to the General Court, Colonel in the Militia and a member of the Governor's Council. He was also appointed by Governor Shirley, in 1754, a delegate to the proposed congress designed to concert measures for the union of the British American Colonies. He died, in 1762, wealthy and full of honors. In him the family reached its zenith.

His wife was Hannah Gardiner, great-granddaughter of Lieut. Lion Gardiner, who is one of the most picturesque figures of the early times. He was an English military engineer, sent over from Holland in 1635, by the Puritans, to construct and maintain a fort at the mouth of the Connecticut, as a check on the Manhattan Dutch. Gardiner built Fort Saybrook and commanded it till 1639, during which time he was constantly fighting, not with the Dutch, but with the Pequots. In 1639 he bought of the Indians Gardiner's Island, which lies at the east end of Long Island, whither he moved with his family. Many years later he wrote a very lively account of his four

years' experience at Fort Saybrook, which is still spicy reading.

In 1699, Gardiner's Island was visited by the notorious Capt. Kidd, who left in charge of the proprietor, John Gardiner, considerable merchandise and treasure, which Gardiner surrendered to the Governor of Massachusetts Bay when Kidd was arrested.

Hannah Gardiner, Chandler's wife, was born the year of Kidd's visit. Her portrait and her husband's, both by Smibert, are still in existence.

The fourth John Chandler, of whom we get a glimpse in this letter at his own fireside, smoking his pipe and petting his little daughter, succeeded his father in nearly all his public honors. He was Selectman, Town Treasurer, Town Clerk, County Treasurer, Sheriff, Judge of Probate and Representative to the General Court. He was also Colonel of the Worcester Regiment, and in 1757 saw active duty in that capacity. Chandler was married twice: first, to Dorothy Paine; second, to Mary Church. The latter was mother of Mrs. Bancroft and as such appears in this letter. Mary Church had in her veins the best of Pilgrim blood, going back even to the *Mayflower*. On her mother's side she was grandchild of Judge Nathaniel Paine, of Bristol, Judge of Probate, and of the Court of Common Pleas; also one of the Council of Massachusetts Bay. On her father's side she was granddaughter of Col. Benjamin Church, the distinguished soldier, who commanded the final expedition against King Philip; of which he left an account which is to-day the principal historical authority. Church's mother was Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Warren, one of the *Mayflower's* passengers. Church's wife was Alice, daughter of Constant Southworth, who was step-son of Governor Bradford and took an active part in public affairs at Plymouth during the first generation.

Up to 1774 Chandler's life had been one of almost unbroken prosperity, but when the storm of rebellion

against England broke out, his loyalist sentiments brought him into angry opposition to popular feeling, and he was compelled to leave home and family and retire to Boston. When Boston fell into the hands of the Continental Army, he fled to Halifax and thence to London, where he spent the rest of his life, twenty-four years. This experience gave him in Worcester the nickname of "Tory John," while in England he was called the "Honest Refugee," because of the modesty of his claims against the British Government for losses sustained by reason of his loyalty.

After his flight his estate was probated as though he were dead. Dower was set off for his wife and the remainder was confiscated. Thus Mrs. Chandler was reduced from affluence and comfort to narrow circumstances, with a large family of young children to care for. This letter recalls the harshness of the change with a touch of bitterness that was very natural.

Mrs. Chandler survived her husband's flight only seven years, and died in 1783, leaving her daughter Lucretia (afterwards Mrs. Bancroft) virtually in charge of the family, though she was only eighteen years of age. Three years later, against the wishes of her brothers, she married the Rev. Aaron Bancroft, a young clergyman, of very narrow means, just settled at Worcester. His record is so well known in this Society as to require but little detail from me. He came of good family in Reading, was graduated at Harvard College in 1778; studied for the ministry, and came to Worcester in 1784 to preach as a candidate for the pulpit of the town church. The church being Calvinistic while Mr. Bancroft leaned to Arminianism, they refused to settle him, whereupon sixty-seven men left the old church, formed what was called a poll-parish, and invited Mr. Bancroft to occupy the new pulpit on an annual salary of \$500.00, which he accepted, and was duly settled in February, 1786.

The next October he married Lucretia Chandler. Young children were soon added to the family, and it became a hard struggle to provide bread for all the mouths. The salary of \$500.00 was meagre enough, but even then part of it was usually paid in farm produce at the parishioners' valuation, and in many years some part of it was never paid. Mrs. Bancroft took boarders, and her husband taught private pupils in his leisure hours to eke out their slender means. She speaks of these times of mutual trial with pathetic tenderness, but never with regret.

All this was only temporary. By and by the town grew, and the parish grew and was able to give him a more adequate support. The older children were soon able to contribute something to the general fund. His "Life of Washington" brought Mr. Bancroft some income, and long before the close of life they enjoyed comparative ease and comfort.

Of their children, John, the oldest, was lost at sea. Henry, the next, died at home from injuries received on ship-board; this explains the mother's terror of the sea. The oldest daughter was Eliza, wife of John Davis, Governor and United States Senator. Their fourth son was George Bancroft, the distinguished historian and statesman. Their fourth daughter was Jane Putnam, afterwards wife of Donato Gherardi, and the recipient of this letter.

Dr. Bancroft acquired distinction in his profession, received the degree of D.D. from Harvard College, was President of the American Unitarian Association for eleven years, and Vice-President of this Society for sixteen years, beside holding other honorable positions. Of his lovely character and faithful Christian service I need not speak.

Jane Putnam Bancroft married, in 1825, Donato Gherardi, a gentleman of culture, a political refugee from Italy. In the fall of 1827 they set sail for Louisiana with

two small children who had been born to them, intending to establish a school. On receiving the news of their safe arrival at their destination, the mother's heart overflowed in the following letter:—

WORCESTER, February 28d.

It is now two days since the choicest letter which I ever received came to us. With heartfelt gratitude I gave thanks for your safety and I pray most devoutly for the blessing of health to all of you, that your husband may find his employment pleasant and you fill your duties with all the praise of a good wife and an affectionate mother. You like a good child long for a letter from mother, she a broken old woman fears she cannot collect herself sufficiently to interest you. When I reflect, my dear Jane, on my pass'd life, and of the changes and difficulties I have gone thro', I wonder I am able in this manner, to be cheerful and appear happy, but the hope which supports the just I hope will enable me to finish my course with the belief of a Christian who humbly trusts in a better life; I dont give up the joy waiting for us that we are to know each other in [the future] where all sorrow is to be [hidden] from our eyes and our enjoyment is to be without end. Many valuable writers are of this opinion, your father too joyns in it. What then is it we so much dread at parting with our friends, and separating from any we love, when duty calls? when without this very performance we cannot obtain this glorious promise. Mother must submit to loose the daughter, the daughter must be willing to leave her parents and home if the Husband of her affection requires it. To you and me my dear child it was a trial. When I took you to my arms for the last time, when I thought I should never see you more, need I describe my emotion, to know you must be lost on that Element and think it might be the grave of another child was certainly more than I thought I could be supported under, but that merciful providence who protects all things mercifully protected you, the waves he assuaged, as the mother of this little family, I hope I am sensibly impressed, that you was so wonderfully preserv'd, in such danger. Sometimes I wonder how your father ever could have thought of a young girl like me

for his wife—one who was almost a child of nature—unfortunate in being bred without the least culture of the mind. My mother, a woman of a strong understanding, would often strive to turn my attention to reading and as often point out the importance of spending my time usefully; not having an early good school education, the ground work was not laid. I cair'd not for history, nor did I read much of Travels. I could form no idea where the place was nor co'ld I imagin that such people as I read of ever existed, so what was the result, I read novels to a wonderful extent, I took pleasure in a good play, and found delight in reading blank vice. Your Uncle Sever read beautifully, and he would often hear me read, which was of high consequence but as to my knowing anything that is now consider'd an English Education I am sure it was all as out of the question. I possessed a cheerful disposition—and my mother would sometimes tell me in a plaiful manner, I should never have more at my heart than I should throw off at my heels—I was always ready for any amusement, the War we had with England did not forbid mirth, that seem'd to be the only way to go on. I was the gayest in the ball room. I never wanted more attention than I received. Sometimes my pride wd have a good lesson for I could not dress like many of my young acquaintances. Altho born in the lap of plenty, and constantly more carest than fathers generally do caress their children, when so numerous a family as he had would not expect it, but the truth was I was my mother's eleventh child, and nearly three years elapsed before the twelfth came. I was as my mother had said, a pretty little black eyed Indian, as they called me, remarked for my upright form, which gave me the name, and till the war broke out which was when I was in my ninth year, I was even then the plaything of the family, indulged by my father. He never sit in his chair without calling for 'pug' to come to him. I sat while he smoak'd his pipe. I can even now see him go and take his glass of wine, and away to his office, happy indeed were those days, the poor and the afflicted always found a refuge in my parents, if I possess one attum of benivolence or even feal for the sorrowful, it was from these early impressions, but alas they were too short, grievous times came, my father not willing to live in altercation with those around him, a very few indeed of the number who had not by his bounty and by his kind interfearence assisted in

the daily walks of life, or afforded them such means as to enable them to get a living, it was these very men who were the most bitter, and from such men he thot it best for a while to abscond—our most confidential men laiborers was let into the seacret, and my father went to Boston, these men having all the plate, linnin and libary under their care, this was indeed afflictive, but not all—this was the work of man. My mother was to be tried more, the very next winter was the most painful, for in that winter two fine sons were drowned. You have often heard me speak of them—they were two and four years older than myself—this loss my mother moarned the rest of her days. The next summer everything was stript and torn from us. I could not see these changes and not take some lessons of usefulness. I trust they made a right impression, poverty did not come but many luxuries which my mother was accustomed to she of course must be deprived. Instead of a good cook, a second woman for chamber work, where there was at least thirteen and fifteen beds to be made a girl to tend her youngest child, and a black servant who had been train'd to the service of tending table and being altogether a house servant. All my father's linnen and my mother's nice lawns and laces kept in order by a special woman, no other than mother to old Mrs. Noar, all these were given up, even the comfort of her husbands society for he was gone. All these comforts the dreded war deprived her [of] at once except the good old black woman who was the cook, but she soon died and then a poor miserable girl was the substitute, with a little boy which my mother said she wd keep at her chair while she was at her meals. I am becoming two particular—Economy was the grand order, but my mother could not willingly give up her former appearance, her society was courted, all who had ever known her was desirous of her acquaintance, While her furnature was sold in her own house, and the very chair on which she sat, bid of from her purchase. She bore it well, and never put herself down by losing her dignity. All this was hard, but the hardest was to come. We had to loose this mother. After strugling thro these times of deep distress, the war closed, a fair prospect was before us that we should be happy, but a violent feaver overtook this frail body, she had not strength to overcome the diseas (perhaps our medical aid was not such as we are now favour'd with) death was the close—and at that time peculiarly

distressing, as her thirds were set of, as if she had no husband, and the children not considered heirs, it was expected all wd go, and we should be flung out to the wide world in this state (I was in my eighteenth year) my father in England living on a small sum annually received for the offices he left hear, the British Government were highly honorable to the sufferers—but my father possed nothing that he then could part with. Your Aunt Sever and I took the family. Your Uncles had a large family. I believe I may say I took the head. Polly, as she was called was not fond of working about house, and was often to say the least of it dissatisfyed. My brothers were desirous I should be the austensible housekeeper. All refferences were left to me in domestick concerns. I was pretty happy because I thought I certainly was earning my living. Two years your Aunt Sever and I lived there. She was then married. I could no more visit her than if I was a mother of a family. I aught to have told you, your grand mother's income we had the use of, but the principle belong'd to the State. It was thot best to send a petetion asking for it as her heirs, this was a long time in agestation. Your father had become our minister. I was pleased with him and while our affairs was in this poverty struck state, I might, or I might not be your father's wife. I had been tried in so many ways. I found there was no certainty in riches, trouble would come and it might be softened by the quiet life I might leed with a clergeman—much to the disappointment of my brothers they thought I could find some one to give me a better living, and was very desirous to have me give it up. It is not easy for a young girl to give up an object where she considers her highest happiness depends, at the same moment let me be understood I had no property nor was it known that there ever would be any. Even my mother's thirds had not been given to us, so you notice, money was not the object, if it was affection I hope I have not been deficient in my best endeavors to prove my constant desire to promote his happiness, and save his interest—it has always been my first object to see him happy—none but a parent can tell the joy he expressed on the birth of Henry—nor how happy I was when I had a half douzen children standing round me for their breakfast and supper consisting of rye bread toasted, the fragments of cold coffee boyled and put on milk. I always did it with my own hands, they as cheerful and satisfied

as if it was a dainty, for why? Because mother gave it them—at dinner my children always dined with us—cheap soup or pudding would be generally seen. Count Rumford's book was of much use to me. I learn'd many cheap dishes and made them satisfactory to my family—I was grateful for the bright prospect the children as they advanced for their readiness to learn and the very great love they show their mother. As to Henry I could do anything with him, if he could only save me any laibor he was perfectly happy. John was a wonderful boy with as good a heart as his brother—if our circumstances had not always been straightened I have no doubt it would have been his choise to have had a liberal Education but providence ordered it otherwise, nor do I think it sinning when I say I shall go sorrowing to my grave for these sons. Your father has often said Eliza caused him the least trouble of the four first children. I had no trouble with her, she was always yealding to my wish and quick to learn. I had real delight in learning her to work. You come in the next flock, never need a father and mother love a child more than we did you. Eliza took peculiar pleasure in aiding and assisting you in what we call'd important in your future wellfair. We certainly saw your character rising in excellence, nor were I deceived even in parting with you. A heighth of excelence I found in you that I delighted to see. Your husband and children supersceded all other ties, and you as a good wife and mother parted with us with a determined assurance of performing your duty in these capassities, if it is possible I love you the better for it, and with such a determination you will succeed, how earnestly I pray for you success. Let me hear from you often. Let me know all of Mr. Gherardi and the dear children and all of yourself. Be assured all shall be kept within our own bosomes. How I long at this moment to give you another adieu, the children! how I long to see them, that is impossible, you must write if you wish to make me recosiled to my loosing all of you.

Your affectionate mother,

L. BANCROFT.

Eliza and boys are well. I tell her she don't look quite as well as she used to. Her soliscitude was grate for many weeks while her husband was so sick and now I judge by my own feelings if she dont hear often there is an anxiety lest he may

have a recurrance, and that will be exactly my trouble if I dont hear from you.

Lucretia is now reading Virgil for dear life, quite a wonder in that particular—her school is done—we hear daily that she has another school, some have even said she was to go to New York and take the one you was to have. how strange when no one has ever thot of such a thing, but I hope she will have one for I believe it would give her pleasure. Mrs. Greenlief Wheeler is dangerously sick with a feaver—what a family to loose its mother—Your father is in Hartford learning them to be Unitarians.

March 6th. You shall know the success of such an ambassian.

[On the back of the letter is the following]

I pronounce this letter to be invaluable. Clara, keep it as long as you live.

J. P. GHERARDI.

The original is followed in the copy as closely as possible.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE LETTER BY ANDREW
McFARLAND DAVIS.

Such particulars as are essential for a complete understanding as to the personality of the several members of the family alluded to in the foregoing letter have been furnished by my brother, in the paper, through which it was brought before this meeting. It is not my purpose, therefore, in what I have to say, to trespass any more than is absolutely necessary, upon that portion of the subject. The reference, however, in the letter to the aid derived from Count Rumford's book, and the family bill of fare there given, throw a flood of light upon the struggles of Dr. Bancroft's family in their endeavor to support life upon the meagre pittance afforded by his salary as pastor supplemented by what he could earn in extraneous work as teacher and editor, and suggest a topic which will bear some elaboration. It is true that the young married couple were not absolutely without means, but the small portion of Judge Chandler's estate, which came to Mrs. Bancroft shortly after their marriage, was not of so much

use to them through its increase of their income as it was through the fact that its possession served first as a guarantee against positive want, and in the end it was probably through this fund that they were enabled to purchase a home. The heroism of this young woman in boldly accepting the hardships of life which were plainly in view when she married Mr. Bancroft can only be appreciated by a review of the surrounding circumstances, and it is to the development of the facts necessary to accomplish this that I shall devote the greater part of the time allotted me this morning.

The first glimpse that we have of the writer of the letter is the picture in which she describes herself at the outbreak of hostilities between Great Britain and the Colonies, as the "little black-eyed Indian." She was then a mere child of nine years of age, her tenth birthday happening in the week after the battle of Bunker Hill. Up to that time she had known nothing of the hardships of life, and it was far from the conception of any member of the family that the comfort or even the luxury in which they had theretofore lived could ever be invaded. Her great-grandfather, John Chandler, a resident of Woodstock, held important offices in Worcester County. Her grandfather and father, bearing the same name, residents of Worcester, held pretty much all the offices, appointive or elective, that could be conferred upon them either by royal governors or by their fellow-citizens. The income from transmitted wealth added to the salaries and perquisites of office furnished means for the maintenance of the household upon the ideal standard of the country gentleman. The portrait of Judge Chandler which hangs upon the wall of this Society was doubtless painted when he was living at ease in his family mansion in Worcester, dispensing the hospitalities for which his house was celebrated, and bestowing with free hand the charities to which his daughter alludes in her letter. Although

it depicts a man whose career up to this time had been absolutely free from care, whose happy relations with his family are shown in the repeated references in the letter to the affectionate manner in which he treated the writer, and upon whose life but few sorrows had up to this time cast their blight, still the impression derived as to the state of mind of the subject of the portrait from its contemplation is that of sadness. If the picture had been painted a few years later, one could understand this, for the time came when his loyalty to the government which had honored him converted this wealthy office-holder into a proscribed fugitive, whose right to tread on Massachusetts soil was by special legislation denied him, while his wife, if she would avail herself of the dower rights set out from his property for her support, was compelled to remain within the limits of the United States.

The writer of the letter associates the breaking up of the family circle with the close of her childish days. When next she speaks of herself the child has become a young lady and participates in the social gayeties of the little village of Central Massachusetts, which are no longer prevented by the stress of war in the immediate vicinity. She can go to balls, and partners she can have in plenty, but she feels keenly her inability to procure such dresses as many of her friends wear, and her pride revolts at the restraints put upon her. There is no hint of want in the conditions under which she is living in this second glimpse that we get of her in the letter; her father leading a lonely life in his bachelor's quarters in London,¹ sustained by the

¹ Judge Chandler was accompanied in his exile by his son Rufus, whose name like his father's was mentioned in the Act to prevent the return to this State of certain persons, etc., etc. May 1, 1787, Rufus wrote as follows: "On the twenty fifth of July last I obtained permission from the Commissioners for my Father & myself to receive our allowance by our Agents during our absence from Great Britain for one year, and was then directed to make application for a renewal of these permissions at the expiration of that period, otherwise our allowance would cease, and as we expect to go to Annapolis in a short time," etc., etc.—(N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg., Vol. 24, p. 247.)

This letter was written at Halifax. The dependent condition of the father and

memory of the prattle of his children as they had in old days gathered about him in his home while he smoked his after-dinner pipe and drank his glass of wine; her mother maintaining the dignity of the household as best she could under the changed circumstances; but we can see that the expensive habits of the girl's childhood have given way to economies in dress and in the management of the household, and that there is no longer the luxury, the ease, or even the comfort to which she had formerly been accustomed.

It is perhaps worth our while as we follow the story set forth in the letter to take a glance at the legal proceedings through which the downfall of the family had been brought about. In April, 1777, there were numerous estates in Massachusetts situated as was that of Judge Chandler. The owners, loyal to the Crown, had been compelled to abandon their homes and seek protection under the British flag. It was to meet the case of these abandoned estates that the General Court, on the 19th of April, 1777, passed the "Act to prevent the waste, destruction and embezzlement of the goods or estates of such persons who have left the same, and fled to our enemies for protection; and also for payment of their just debts, out of their estates."¹

son being distasteful to them they had come to Halifax expecting that Rufus would be able to open a lawyer's office and earn a living. This was found to be absolutely impracticable. They still had some hope evidently that by crossing over to Annapolis an opening could be found. They both returned to London.

¹Province Laws, Vol. V., p. 629 *et seq.* Dr. Chandler, in his genealogy of the Chandler family, furnishes what purports to be a copy of the inventory of Judge Chandler's property filed in the Probate Court by the Commissioners appointed to set aside dower. This inventory as published contains evidence in itself that the total of the estate is included as an item, dower being set off valued at exactly one-third of this item. Being of opinion that in April, 1775, the alleged date of this inventory, there was no law under which such proceedings could have been taken, I consulted Mr. Abner C. Goodell. He called my attention to what he termed "the famous ordinance forbidding the conveyance of estates of refugees," passed about a month before the Battle of Bunker Hill, as a possible basis for a mistaken reference of this sort. He also referred to the Act of May 1, 1776, directed against persons inimical to the rights of the United States, under which their property, upon conviction of the offenders, could have been forfeited to the Colony.—*Ibid.*, p. 479 *et seq.* He was of opinion that if Dr. Chandler gave 1775 as the date of the confiscation proceedings he was mistaken. Since I wrote to Mr. Goodell, I have ascertained that the proceedings against Judge Chandler's estate were conducted under

Under this Act, the Judge of Probate for any County was authorized to appoint an agent to take charge of the estate of an absentee whose absence had been certified to him by the Selectmen or the Committees of Correspondence, Safety and Inspection of the town, provided such absence had continued for three months or upwards; provided, also, that the absentee had left property behind him and that he had voluntarily gone to the enemy. Belief on the part of the Committee was adequate for the establishment of the last fact. Any agent appointed under these circumstances was empowered to settle the estate of such absentee as an administrator would if the absent person were dead. In case persons were left behind, dependent upon the estate for support, the Judge of Probate was "impowered to allow bedding, utensils and implements of household furniture, necessary for the upholding of life, for the use of the wife & family of the absent person," and he might also "assign to the wife the use and improvement of one third part of the real estate during the absence of the husband."

Any agent who might be appointed under this Act was instructed to sell the entire personal estate which should come into his hands at public auction and out of the proceeds pay the debts of the absentee. If the personal property should not prove adequate to satisfy the demands of creditors, then the agent was to apply to some court for license to sell real estate.

Proceedings against the Chandler estate were begun on the 18th of April, 1777, under this Act, so far as this can

the Act to prevent the Waste, *etc.*, *etc.* I am, however, equally indebted to Mr. Goodell for calling my attention to this ordinance through which the conveyance of property by refugees was inhibited. It was passed May 22, 1775, and prohibited any person within the Colony from taking "any deed, lease or conveyance whatever of lands" from the described persons. On the 21st of June, the Provincial Congress followed the matter up, by recommending the Selectmen and Committees of Correspondence of the several towns of the Colony to take the property of refugees into their care.—See Journals of the Provincial Congress. See, also, Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 138, No. 57. See, also, notes to Chapter 38, Province Laws, Vol. V., pp. 706-713. Mr. Goodell also referred me to the notes to Chapters 24, 48 and 49, Laws of 1778, 1779; Province Laws, Vol. V., pp. 1004, 1062 and 1066.

be determined by the dates of original papers now on file in the Probate Court. The Chairman of the Worcester Committee of Correspondence, *etc.*, then filed the certificate required under the first section of the Act.¹

An agent was thereupon promptly appointed, who qualified by filing the required bond on the 7th of May, and then entered upon the performance of his duties.² It is evident, however, that the Committee took possession of the estate prior to the appointment of the agent, for in his final account the agent charges himself with cash received in June, 1777, from the Committee of Correspondence of the town of Worcester, and with sundry obligations delivered by the Committee, which were afterwards paid. There is no authority conferred by the "Act to prevent the waste, *etc.*," for any such action on the part of the Committee, but it is a remarkable fact that in the various proceedings against the property of the loyalists which then took place there was seldom any step taken or act committed, however harsh and arbitrary such action was, which was not to be justified by some authority conferred upon the perpetrators by the General Court. The Assembly by bestowing upon the proper authorities power to carry

¹ Worcester April 18, 1777.

To the Honorable Levi Lincoln Esq^r Judge of Probate for the County of Worcester. The Committee of Correspondence Inspection & Safety for this Town, would inform your Honor, that agreeable to a Late Act of the Great and General Court of this State, to prevent Waste, Destruction, or Embezzlement of the Estates of those Persons who have left them & fled to the Enemy, and as by said Act Information must come to the Judge from the Selectmen or Committee of said Towns where said Estates are — The Committee for this Town, in conformity to said Act would inform your Honor, that John Chandler Esq^r has absented Himself leaving a Wife & family, that James Putnam Esq^r has absented himself with his whole family, excepting one negro man. That Rufus Chandler has absented Himself with his wife leaving one Child. That Doct^r. William Paine has absented Himself & since sent for his wife leaving One Child—all which Persons except Mrs Paine have been absent more than three months, & said Committee verily believe have fled to the Enemy.

By order of the Committee of

Correspondence &c for Worcester

JOHN CUNNINGHAM, Chairman.

²The Agent was Joseph Allen, then County Clerk, and afterwards a member of Dr. Bancroft's congregation. Hon. Alfred S. Roe, in an article on George Bancroft in the "New England Magazine," calls attention to the fact that Mr. Allen performed the marriage ceremony for Dr. Bancroft and his wife.—*N. E. Mag.*, Vol. XXIII., p. 163.

out the sequestration of the estates of the fugitives was able to protect the property from disorderly destruction and from seizure by unauthorized persons. Security was also thereby gained that provision could be made for the support of dependent members of the family. The authority for the action of the Committee at this time is probably to be found in a resolve of the General Court passed April 23, 1776, instructing the Committees of Correspondence, Safety and Inspection to take possession of the estates of absentees.¹

Judge Chandler took refuge in Boston in the fall of the year 1774, so that there was an interval of about two years, during which the family remained in undisturbed possession of the property.² Possibly they managed to

¹ This subject is developed by Mr. Goodell in the note to Chapter 28, *Laws of 1776-1777*.—*Province Laws*, Vol. V., pp. 706 *et seq.*

The resolve of May 22, 1775, inhibited the transfer of property by refugees. The resolve of June 21, 1775, recommended Selectmen and Committees of Correspondence to take charge of the property of refugees. July 8, 1775, the Provincial Congress resolved, that the resolve of June 21, 1775, ought not to be construed to extend to any estates except such as were left unimproved and void of any occupant or possessor, until the refugee owner should be regularly indicted. March 23, 1776, a Committee was appointed to repair to Boston and take possession of the real and personal estate of the Mandamus Councillors, Commissioners of Customs and others, who at any time after April 19, 1775 and before March 20, 1776, had abandoned their property and fled from Boston. April 8, 1776, a resolve was passed the purpose of which was to reach the property of the persons mentioned in the last preceding resolve which had been placed in the name or the hands of others. April 19th a resolve was passed in the House, and concurred in April 23 by the Council, instructing the Committees of Correspondence, Safety and Inspection of every town and plantation in the Colony, to take possession of the estates of refugees, to lease the real estate for one year and to inventory the personal estate. It being feared that the general terms of this resolve might interfere with the Committee appointed March 23, to take possession of the estates of the Boston refugees an explanatory resolve curing this possible defect was passed May 4, with a proviso for the support out of the estates of the wives and children of the obnoxious persons.

² His name, which constantly occurs in the Worcester Records for many years, suddenly disappears in 1774. Its last appearance there was as a signer of the vigorous and somewhat famous protest of the loyalists, presented June 20, 1774, which Clark Chandler, one of the signers, being then Town Clerk, extended in full upon the Records. The protest was not only carefully expunged but Clark Chandler was publicly reprimanded at a town meeting for making the entry. It appears from one of the reports prepared by the Commissioners appointed to investigate the claims of American loyalists that Judge Chandler took refuge in Boston in September, 1774.—*Audit Office Records, American Loyalists*, Vol. 105, fol. 122; *Records Office*, London. He was in Boston when Gage sailed, and signed the address then presented the General.

contribute towards his support after he left Boston, until their means were curtailed by the action of the Committee of Correspondence. Following the seizure of the estate by the Committee there came a period of uncertainty and doubt, during which the hope that the Judge of Probate might be induced to assign Mrs. Chandler her thirds was never abandoned, notwithstanding the failure of the judge to exercise his power to do so. This anxiety was prolonged for nearly three years, her rights in the income of her husband's estate not being actually set off until nine months after her possible claim for consideration had been converted into an absolute right by subsequent legislation.¹

Judge Chandler's estate was almost exclusively invested in real property in Worcester and Hampshire Counties. Some of it was unproductive, but there were many improved farms which were let out on leases. Appraisers were appointed for the Worcester property in 1777 and for the outside real estate in 1778. They were instructed to return the appraised value of the several lots in lawful money, that is to say on the basis of silver money, in the pounds, shillings and pence of the New England denomination. The returns of most of the appraisers then appointed were promptly made, and an inventory of the real estate evidently made up from them, which bears no date but was probably made in 1778, shows that they had then found real estate amounting according to the appraisement to £36,835 15s. The appraisers of the Worcester property were instructed to make a return of the value of the "Bedding Utensils & Implements of Household furniture," and to report the names of such of the family as were unable to support themselves.

On the 20th of November, 1778, Mary Chandler petitioned the Judge of Probate that one third part of the improvement of her husband's real estate during his absence might be assigned her under the "Act to prevent the Waste," &c. The petition was not at that time allowed.

¹ Province Laws, Vol. V., p. 971.

The "Act to prevent the return to this State of certain persons therein named and others, who have left this State or either of the United States, and joined the enemy thereof,"—in which John Chandler was mentioned by name, became a law, October 16, 1778.¹ The "Act for confiscating the estates of certain persons, commonly called Absentees" was passed May 1, 1779.² Under this last Act the wife of any absentee who had remained in the United States became entitled to the improvement and income of one third part of her husband's real and personal estate (after payment of debts) during her life and continuance in the United States. Judges of Probate were instructed to set off such dower, "in like manner as it might have been if her husband had died intestate within the jurisdiction of this State."

A detailed inventory of the personal property which had come into possession of the agent was returned by him, and oath made to its accuracy March 17, 1779. Accompanying this and forming a part of the same report was the return of the Commissioners appointed to estimate the value of the Worcester property. The personal property they estimated as worth £572 9s. The Worcester real and personal estate they put at £23,612 9s. An interest in a farm at Charlton they valued at £2,000, and they called the whole £25,615 9s.,—three pounds more than the separate items foot up.

March 17, 1779, Mary Chandler petitioned for the use and improvement of one third of the real estate of her husband, the conclusion of her petition being couched in the following words: "the anxiety & solicitude attending the long suspense she has been in relative to the premises are very disagreeable to her, for which as well as other reasons she is moved to make the request which if granted will be

¹ Province Laws, Vol. V., p. 912. ² *Ibid.*, p. 938. Special authority had been given the Agent at that time to lease certain real property for one year at rent to be approved by the Selectmen of Worcester. Resolves of the General Assembly of the State of Massachusetts Bay, p. 6, April 9, 1778. Resolve XXVI.

of essential service to her, as a permanent security of the support of herself & her orphan family." The granting of the petition being at this time discretionary with the Judge of Probate, no action was then taken, but about seven months later, a little over five months after the passage of the Confiscation Act, on the 12th of October, commissioners were appointed to set off dower. These commissioners on the 6th day of December made return of their action under this appointment. They estimated the value of the real estate at £76,515,¹ the Worcester property especially being appraised by them at much higher figures than it was in the previous appraisals. They set off for dower the homestead, and certain pastures, wood lots and farms in Worcester, which with one pew in the town church, they valued at £25,505. This valuation was accepted by the Court, and both Mary Chandler and Joseph Allen, the agent, signified their assent to it. An order was therefore entered February 8, 1780, approving the return and setting off the designated real estate for the improvement of Mrs. Chandler. The final return of the agent was not made until 1784. It contains the following statement as to the disposition of the personal property. "N. B. The one half of the personal estate contained in an Inventory exhibited into the probate was delivered to the wife of said absentee by order of the Judge of Probate & the remainder was rec'd by the Committee of Confiscation for the County of Worcester."

¹ The accuracy of the estimate of the first appraisers £36,835 15s. lawful money, the equivalent of £27,626 16s. sterling, is confirmed by Chandler's estimate of losses returned to the Commissioners of American Claims, in London. He estimated the property which he was compelled to abandon, as worth, £25,000 sterling.—See Vol. 106, fol. 122, Audit Office Records, American Loyalists, Records Office, London. In the volume known as "Index to American Claims" in the same office, under the heading "Claim for loss of Prop't" against the name "Chandler John Massa" the amount £11,067 12s. is given. This "claim" can not represent the value of the entire estate.

Chandler's original estimate of £25,000 was evidently a moderate and fair estimate of the value of the estate in 1774. The appraisers of the Hampshire property made a return of the value as £2,530 5s. in 1774 and 1775. This not being satisfactory to the Agent, they made a second return of the value as of Dec. 1778, at £3,685 15s. The valuation of the same property in the 1780 appraisal was £3,770.

In view of the fact that Mrs. Chandler consented to the valuation of the property which furnished the basis for the assignment of dower, it is not possible at this day to criticise the acts of the appraisers, but one thing is evident, the changes in the values assigned the various lots worked to her disadvantage, since the Worcester property was that which was most affected and it was out of this property that her dower was assigned. The homestead lot was set off to her and the additional property was certainly adequate to maintain her family in good style, if the income which it was capable of producing was proportionate to its appraised value. The only real clue that we get to this is from the letter, and there we learn that the family was obliged to economize.

The death of the mother in 1783 temporarily plunged this large family into absolute penury. The dower upon which they had lived followed the mother to the grave, and for the moment there was nothing left for the support of the family. An appeal for relief was made to the General Court, which was found to be compliant, and within about three weeks after the death of the mother, the children were authorized to take possession of and improve that part of their father's estate which had been set aside for dower. The grant was, however, not permanent in its nature, being limited by the addition of the words, "until the further order of the General Court."¹ In 1786, the Legislature in still more generous mood set over the estate from which the dower had been derived, save a single lot on what is now Lincoln Square, which had in 1785 been appropriated for a gaol for Worcester County. The title was granted in fee simple to seven of the children who were designated by their names, Lucretia being one.²

¹ Resolves of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in New England, Boston, 1783, p. 47. Resolve XV., October 4, 1783.

² The original grant was in October, 1783. On the second of July, 1784, the Legislature ordered all confiscated estates to be sold. February eleventh, 1785, this estate was excepted from the operation of the above order and the children were author-

The days of thoughtless merry-making of this young girl were by the death of her mother brought to an abrupt ending. She was selected by her brothers to take charge of a household in which, as she says, there were fifteen beds to be made up in the morning, and here began the preparation for the responsible career which was before her. Her time was entirely occupied with the cares which were thrown upon her shoulders, and all thoughts of amusement were necessarily laid aside. Although there is nothing in the letter to indicate that she in any way rebelled at the responsibilities which were thrust upon her, this phase of her life is perhaps the most barren of all those of which we catch a glimpse. Later she endured far greater hardships, but then she had her husband with her to cheer her spirits, to sympathize with her troubles, and above all, she could triumph with him as they jointly overcame the obstacles which impeded the progress of his career. But at this time, while still young and fond of society, she found herself cut off from many of the pleasures which go to make this period the one to which girls look back in old age as the pleasantest portion of life. Still she was happy, because, as she says, "I thought I certainly was earning my living."

It is as a married woman that we next see her, and it is only through the economies which she then practised that she betrays the hardships of the life upon which she had now entered. The statement in the letter, "Count Rum-

ized to remain in possession for two years longer. In June, 1785, Thaddens and William Macarty were authorized to prove claims against the estate of John Chandler, the same to be satisfied out of the dower estate. June 10, 1786, the dower estate, except the gaol-lot was set over to the seven children in fee simple, subject to the payment of all debts due from the estate and not already paid. June 23, 1786, it appearing that the form of this grant would not produce the beneficial result intended by the legislature, the resolve of June 10th was repealed and the same parties were declared to be seized and possessed in fee simple as tenants in common of the real estate set off to their mother for her thirds, with exception of the gaol-lot, "the petitioners paying and discharging all those debts due from the said estate, which have not already been examined and allowed by the Commissioners on the same, as reported to the Judge of Probate for the said County." The last claim allowed against the estate was in 1787.

ford's book was of much use to me, I learned many cheap dishes and made them satisfactory to my family," discloses a utilitarian application of the investigations into the science of nutrition made by the remarkable man to whose book she refers, which is of very great interest. It is not unlikely that the majority of those who are present at this meeting have no other associations with the name of Benjamin Thompson than those aroused by his investigations on the subject of heat, concerning which the Committee of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences which supervised the publication of his complete works in 1874, said: "his experiments are now seen to be the first of that memorable series of investigations which has resulted in the modern mechanical theory of heat and the conservation of energy."¹ This committee classified the papers in the four volumes which they then published under the following heads: "The scientific papers will be found chiefly in the first two volumes; descriptions of improved methods of warming and cooking occupy the third; and the greater part of the last is devoted to the philanthropic essays; but this also contains the scientific papers on light." It will be seen that Count Rumford's paper entitled, "Of the Construction of Kitchen Fire Places and Kitchen Utensils, together with remarks and observations relating to the various processes of cooking, and proposals for improving that most useful art," which was relegated to the third volume of the Complete Works, was not regarded by the Committee as a scientific paper, while the "investigation of the science of nutrition" which Count Rumford entitled, "Of food; and particularly of feeding the poor," a paper, doubtless, which was of use to Mrs. Bancroft, which was included by the Committee under the philanthropic essays in the fourth volume, was also discarded from the society of the papers called scientific. It is not to philanthropic essays

¹ The Complete Works of Count Rumford, Vol. IV., Boston, 1875. See Preface, pp. iv., vii.

that we should naturally turn for cooking receipts, and I confess that I should have been at a loss for a solution of the question, To what did the writer refer by this reference to Count Rumford's Works? had it not been impressed upon my memory that I had recently heard Professor Trowbridge, of Harvard University, describe at a meeting of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the results arrived at by Count Rumford in a study made by him of the science of nutrition. In this description full justice was done by Professor Trowbridge to the scientific character of the work.

The circumstances under which this investigation was undertaken were peculiar. Bavaria was at that time overrun with what we should call to-day tramps. Count Rumford describes the situation in the following words: "The number of itinerant beggars, of both sexes and all ages, as well foreigners as natives, who strolled about the country in all directions, levying contributions from the industrious inhabitants, stealing and robbing and leading a life of indolence and the most shameless debauchery was quite incredible; and so numerous were the swarms of beggars in all the great towns, and particularly in the capital, so great their impudence and so persevering their importunity, that it was almost impossible to cross the streets without being attacked and absolutely forced to satisfy their clamorous demands. And these beggars were in general by no means such as from age or bodily infirmities were unable by their labor to earn their livelihood; but they were for the most part, stout, strong, healthy, sturdy beggars, who, lost to every sense of shame, had embraced the profession from choice, not necessity, and who not unfrequently added insolence and threats to their importunity, and extorted that from fear which they could not procure by their arts of dissimulation."¹

The problem which Count Rumford set for himself was

¹ Works of Count Rumford, Vol. IV., pp. 241, 242, Boston, 1876.

to put a stop to this condition of things. As a preliminary step he hired a vacant building in Munich, originally erected as a manufactory, and made preparations to furnish work to such of these vagrants as were physically capable of it. Then on a given day, by means of the co-operation of the military with the police, he caused every person found begging in Bavaria to be arrested, and thus at one stroke practically put a stop to the business. "In the four years immediately succeeding the introduction of the measures adopted for putting an end to mendicity, and clearing the country of beggars, thieves, robbers, etc.," said Rumford, "above ten thousand of these vagabonds, foreigners, and natives were actually arrested and delivered over to Civil Magistrates," and "in taking up the beggars in Munich and providing for those who stood in need of public assistance, no less than twenty-six hundred of the one description and the other were entered upon the lists in one week, though the whole number of the inhabitants of the city of Munich probably does not amount to more than sixty thousand, even including the suburbs."

It was under such circumstances as these that Rumford began his great experiment in social science which resulted in temporarily, at least, suppressing beggary in Bavaria. His "Military Work-house" was at first a source of expense, but under his careful supervision it ultimately became self-supporting.

This was accomplished through the skilful manner in which the labor of the inmates was applied, and in the economies of administration which resulted from his studies of the use of fuel in cooking and his investigations of the nutritive value of different foods. His purpose was to give his working force food which should develop their strength to the best possible advantage. That was evidently the first point to be gained, and the second was to make use of those substances which would most economically accomplish this result. His investigations

not only covered these two points but also comprehended the determination of the best methods of culinary treatment. The results of this study are embodied in the paper on food, which not only contains a great deal of statistical information as to the preparation and cost of the foods used at the Military Work-house together with similar statistics obtained with reference to the food of certain soldiers in the Bavarian army, but also has a number of receipts which he recommends. He devotes a chapter to our Indian Corn and gives an "Approved Receipt for making a plain Indian Pudding." He has considerable to say "On the Boiling of Potatoes so as to be eaten as Bread," and gives a "Receipt for a very cheap Potato Dumpling" and another "for preparing boiled Potatoes with a Sauce." He has a good deal to say about the value of Barley as food and introduces it with Samp or Hominy in his Receipt for a very Cheap Soup. Rye bread is another cheap food which he recommends, and he adds a detailed account of the experiments made at the Bake-house of the Military Work-house in baking rye bread.

It was the information contained in these papers which proved of practical value to Mrs. Bancroft in her house-keeping in Worcester. If we wish fully to comprehend the extent of the economies which Count Rumford was actually dealing with we must turn to the statistics which he gives concerning his Bavarian soldiers. Their pay, he says, was five kreutzers a day and $1\frac{1}{2}$ Bavarian pounds of what he calls ammunition bread. This bread he considered to be worth three kreutzers, so that the daily pay was equivalent to eight kreutzers. He shows that the cost of feeding each soldier was $5\frac{1}{4}$ kreutzers, leaving $2\frac{3}{4}$ kreutzers for beer, tobacco, etc. He reckoned that the daily expense of feeding the Bavarian soldier was "equal to two pence sterling, very nearly." Notwithstanding the fact that some of the ingredients of these cheap receipts

were native and nearly all were capable of being produced in New England, it may be doubted whether similar economies could have been practised in a household there. It is obvious, however, that much profit was gained by this sagacious woman through the perusal of Rumford's works. Edward Atkinson, who has devoted much attention to the subject of food economies, finds that in our day the poor do not care to practise the economies which he recommends. "I shall think myself very fortunate," says Rumford, "if what I have done in the prosecution of these my favorite studies should induce ingenious men to turn their attention to the investigation of a science hitherto much neglected, and where every new improvement must tend directly and powerfully to increase the comforts and enjoyments of mankind." Rumford's work, in which he took such pride, was of unquestioned merit, yet so far from its stimulating ingenious men to further researches in the same direction, the subject has been since practically neglected until it was taken up by Atkinson in our day,¹ and the valuable monographs of Rumford, full of food and fuel statistics as they are, are concealed in the new edition of his works among the philanthropic essays.

One contemporaneous admirer we know that he had in New England, the wife of a country clergyman, struggling to live and rear a large family upon an inadequate salary, and we may be sure that she meant what she said when she wrote "Count Rumford's book was of much use to me."

The glimpse that we get of the life of this struggling family through the pictures that she gives of the table around which the children of the family gathered to consume their rations of rye bread, to drink their share of the fragments of cold coffee boiled and to sip their

¹ I am not unmindful in making this statement that at the present time investigations are being carried on in some of our laboratories of a highly scientific character which promise results of great value in regard to the nutritive values of foods.

cheap soup and eat their cheap pudding, is supplemented by further details of an autobiographical character furnished by the father of the family in his fiftieth anniversary sermon.¹ At a town meeting held on March 1, 1785, the question being submitted whether the town would agree to settle Mr. Bancroft in the work of the Gospel ministry, it was voted in the negative. At the same meeting it was also voted not to give the consent of the town to the formation of a new religious society by those who were desirous of settling Mr. Bancroft. Thereupon those who favored Mr. Bancroft seceded from the first parish and formed an association for the purpose of creating another religious society in Worcester. Over this second congregational church Mr. Bancroft was ordained February 1st, 1786. "The time was unfavorable," says he, "when these proceedings commenced. The revolutionary war had then closed and paper money no longer passed as currency, every production of the earth had greatly fallen in price, state taxes were high, and creditors demanded their debts. People in consequence felt themselves oppressed, and in 1786 Shays' insurrection broke out. The new Society being an individual association and not incorporated, were still holden by the first parish; they asked to be exempted from a ministerial tax, but were denied. In October, 1786, I married, and of course met the expenses of a family. The salary was \$500. Under the complicated difficulties of the period this was considered a weight too onerous to be borne." It was under circumstances like these that the young couple entered upon their married life, dependent, for a time at least, for their support, upon a small salary, the collection of which in its entirety it was found to be almost impossible to accomplish. "To assess the annual salary, or enforce the collection, in

¹ A sermon delivered in Worcester January 31, 1836, by Aaron Bancroft, D.D., etc., etc. Worcester, 1836.

the usual manner," says William Lincoln, "was impracticable." Resort was, therefore, had to monthly contributions for the support of the minister, and the amounts due from individuals were afterwards adjusted.

If we consider the conditions of life under which this young woman had spent her childhood, we cannot wonder at the disappointment of her brothers at the marriage of their sister to a young clergyman settled over a mere association of individuals, from whom there was no legal method of forcing the voluntary subscriptions they had made to the inadequate salary agreed upon. Mrs. Bancroft had, however, made her choice and she entered upon the struggle for life with all the energy with which nature had endowed her. "Rarely has a woman," says Dr. Bancroft, "from a family of plenty so readily conformed to a change of worldly condition, so cheerfully sustained the straitened circumstances of a family, or so perseveringly and effectually labored for its support, as she has done."

Insignificant as was the salary which he received, Dr. Bancroft realized that his parish could not pay it and simultaneously erect a house for public worship. Consequently, in March, 1789, he voluntarily surrendered one-third of his salary on condition that a meeting-house be immediately built. After the completion of the new building affairs moved more smoothly but, at best, it was quite impossible to support his growing family on his salary as clergyman. "My income from the parish," he says, "being quite inadequate to the support of a family, I was obliged to have recourse to extraneous means. We for years received as many boarders as our house would accommodate. I assisted several youth in their preparation for college, or qualifying themselves for useful stations in busy life; through a long period I admitted in the forenoon of weekdays a number of the daughters and relations of my parishioners into my study and gave them the best instruc-

tion in my power. The publication of Washington's Life yielded some profit; during several years I officiated as editor of one or another of our public journals."

During the Napoleonic wars there was such a rise in the necessities of life that Dr. Bancroft could no longer meet the current expenses of his family. He says: "In a conference with assembled members of the society this fact was declared, and they were informed that I had encroached on the small capital bequeathed¹ to my wife by her father. The appeal was not made in vain. Individuals were liberal in sending to our house articles of consumption and in the seven following years I received by special grants, in addition to the annual salary, nine hundred dollars. In 1816, three hundred dollars was added to the salary, which was continued till the settlement of a colleague, when at my instance the salary was reduced to five hundred dollars, the original amount." Thirteen children had in the meantime been born in this household. The older boys had gone to sea, but the older daughters, competent, energetic and brought up under the influence of this respected father and beloved mother, bore their share in the household labors, provided as they best could for the comfort of the father and relieved their mother in the care of the younger children. The much needed increase in the salary did not come until a radical change had taken place in Dr. Bancroft's public position. From a solitary, ostracized preacher, who during the first seven

¹ The use of the word bequeathed is probably inadvertent on the part of Dr. Bancroft. The frequent occurrence of the doctor's name in the Indexes of the Registry of Deeds in Worcester indicates the manner in which he invested his wife's property. He first figures as grantee of land in Ward in 1788, the consideration being £300. The next year he and his wife, in consideration of £350, convey to Samuel and Charles Chandler all the right, title and interest which they have in and to several messuages, tracts and parcels of land lying in Worcester aforesaid, with the buildings thereon standing and the appurtenances thereunto belonging, being the same which by a resolve of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts bearing date the twenty-third day of June, A. Domini one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, were granted to the said Lucretia with others therein named as tenants in common of the premises above described. This last is the dower property.

years of his ministry found only three clergymen in the vicinity of Worcester who would exchange with him, he had become a recognized leader and had laid the foundation of that reputation which made him the president of the American Unitarian Association from 1825, the date of its organization, down to 1836; which had already brought him the degree of D.D. from Harvard; which led the American Academy of Arts and Sciences to elect him as a Fellow, and which caused this Society to choose him for its vice-president from 1816 to 1832. With this recognition of his true place in the ministry came the accompanying burden thereby imposed upon him of receiving in his household and entertaining strangers and friends who sought his company. Dr. Hill, recognizing the full extent of this burden, tells us how it was met by Mrs. Bancroft: "In the sanctuary of her own dwelling, in rearing and educating a numerous family of children, large portions of her life were spent. But in every portion, her house was the abode of hospitality—of the enlarged and generous hospitality of a former generation. In the spirit of the Apostle she was careful to entertain strangers and was given to hospitality; and when I reflect how generously that of clergymen in former days was taxed, especially in a central place like this—how many from season to season thronged her dwelling—how incessantly she was called upon to sustain the rites of the Christian family—I cannot but admire the energy which supported her, and the cheerfulness with which she performed a high duty. Whatever sacrifices of time and labor it might cost, night or day, her doors were thrown widely open, and the friend or relative, the stranger or sojourner, found a warm welcome at her fireside and her board."¹

Dr. Allen, of Northborough, himself a recipient of the hospitality of Dr. Bancroft, says: "It was my good

¹ A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Rev. Aaron Bancroft, D.D., by Alonzo Hill, Worcester, 1839.

fortune to be an inmate in his family for several weeks in the summer of 1815, when I had opportunity to witness, in the order and peace and mutual love that prevailed, evidence of the wisdom and skill with which it had been presided over by its venerated head, then absent on a distant journey."¹ One story that Dr. Allen relates calls vividly to our minds the great changes that have been produced by the economies of to-day in the publication of books, and the social changes wrought by our numerous libraries which bring literature of all sorts within reach of the poorest household. "Guy Mannering" was then first out, the authorship being still unknown, and a copy had been received at Dr. Bancroft's. "Our afternoons," says Dr. Allen, "were mostly spent in the parlor, where the members of the family, with occasionally some of the neighbors used to assemble to listen to the reading" of the new book.

Through the same source, we gain some aid in estimating the esteem in which Dr. Bancroft was held by the community at large and by visitors at Worcester, and we learn something about the way in which the family spent their evenings. "His house," said Dr. Allen, "was the resort of distinguished strangers who visited Worcester, and while the courts were in session, he seldom failed to receive calls from the judges and leading members of the bar. On such occasions, subjects of deep interest and moment were sometimes discussed, to the elucidation of which Dr. Bancroft contributed his full share. However distinguished his guests, he was always listened to with deference and respectful attention, for his remarks were replete with wisdom and learning, with moderation and candor and practical good sense." * * * "On Sunday evenings, he was commonly visited by a few of his more intimate friends and parishioners, who took this

¹ "The Worcester Association and its Antecedents, etc.," by Joseph Allen, Boston, 1868, p. 132 *et seq.*

method of showing their respect for their venerable pastor, with whom some of them had been intimately associated through near the whole period of his ministry." * * * "The evenings thus spent were truly *Noctes Ambrosianæ*, spiritual feasts, with which our souls were refreshed ; and, I trust, our hearts made better."

With this description at the hands of Dr. Allen of the life led by this worthy couple in the little house on Main Street,¹ we can appropriately close our study of Mrs. Bancroft's career, induced by the perusal of her letter. Such in substance, was the life led by the family at the time when the letter was written. While the great battle for the right of independent congregational worship had been fought by Dr. Bancroft, the second parish fully realized that his success had cost the partner of his life many sacrifices and that the victory was only gained at the expense of much suffering on her part. The parish, therefore, caused to be cut upon the same block of marble on which they bore testimony to the honor and gratitude which they felt for their pastor, their desire that "Her ardent friendship, her active benevolence, her many virtues and her efforts and sacrifices for the welfare of the Second Parish in Worcester should ever be held in grateful remembrance."

NOTE.

While the thoughts suggested by the letter find a natural conclusion with the death of the writer, it may be permitted perhaps to add one or two extracts from the numerous eulogies published at the time of the death of that daughter of whom the mother said "Your father has often said Eliza caused him the least trouble of the four first children. I had no trouble with her, she was always yielding to my wish to learn. I had real delight in learning her to work." Her death occurred in 1872, while the memory of the recent war was still fresh in the minds of people,

¹ This property was acquired by Dr. Bancroft in 1813 by two deeds. One from William Rice, consideration \$750, and one from Isaiah Thomas, consideration \$1,500.

and while it was still remembered how full she was of patriotic devotion to the cause of the Union and how great had been her activity in the various efforts put forth by women at that time in behalf of the troops in the field.

The *Spy* of January 25, 1872, contains an article upon her death which although signed B. was assigned the position of the leader on the editorial page. It bears evidence, I think, of being from the pen of Governor Bullock. The writer, after alluding to her husband, says: "Every community pays the tribute of eulogy to such as it terms its first man and foremost citizen; but it is even better for the moral and the lesson that the honors of every community should be accorded to its first and foremost woman." The writer then goes on to point out the many attractive features of her character which made her prominent, and in describing her life at Washington says "Mrs. Davis was much of the time at Washington during the senatorial terms of her husband, where her qualities won warm and universal favor." . . . "Among all the scenes of historical interest of that period, Mr. Clay was alike in the Senate and the drawing-room the recognized chief and favorite. It was he who said that, all things considered, Mrs. Davis was the foremost woman at Washington."

A communication signed H. (probably Mr. Haven), appeared in the editorial columns of the *Evening Gazette* of January 24, the day of her death. The writer speaks of her as "gifted beyond most women with a keen and vigorous intellect," alludes to her "energetic and active leadership in benevolent and useful enterprises" and says that "her social influence at Washington and the respect inspired by her attractive manners and brilliant conversational powers among statesmen and men of letters are well understood."

A writer who trusts that he is "not too late to add another to the many heartfelt tributes which the death of this admirable woman has already called forth," dwells upon "the enthusiasm of youth" which kept her vivacious in her old age. "Ranked among the prominent women at the National Capital full thirty years ago," he says, "she returned to Washington during the last two winters to find herself the centre of admiring regard."

The following lines, suggested by a miniature of the writer of the letter, were addressed to "Lucretia Bancroft" by her grandson, George H. Davis :—

Dreamily will fancy slip,
As one backward turns a look,
Calling up that smiling lip
And that cheerful look ;
Eyes that sparkled through the tears
Of so nearly fourscore years.

Had I not this semblance now
I could see thee even yet.
Time, who slightly touched that brow
And those locks of jet,
Played in vain the spoiler's part
Heaping cares upon that heart.

I, a boy, saw thee in years,
Saw thy many merry ways,
Thought thy life knew naught of tears,
Had no cloudy days.
Careless fellow not to see
Whence the spring of youth in thee !

As a streamlet which the rain
Soils, perhaps a little while,
Grows, in flowing, clear again,
So returned thy smile.
So did thy unselfish grief
Find in active care relief.

Zealous in thy charity,
Perfect Mother, thou, at home,
Strong in him who walked with thee
Even to the tomb.
Passing first its portal dim
With that smile to welcome him.

March 21st, 1862.

THE FIFTEENTH PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN

MISSION TO THE INDIAN TRIBES:

THE AMERICAN MISSION TO THE INDIAN TRIBES, PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS AND SUPERINTENDENTS OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, NEW-YORK: 1854.

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PROCEEDINGS

American Antiquarian Society.

1891

ANNUAL MEETING

1891



Published by the American Antiquarian Society
at the Press of the American Antiquarian Society
No. 125 North Main Street, Worcester, Mass.

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PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 24, 1901, AT THE HALL OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN BOSTON.

THE meeting was called to order at 10:30 A. M. by the
President, HON. STEPHEN SALISBURY.

The following members were present:—

Edward E. Hale, George F. Hoar, Nathaniel Paine,
Stephen Salisbury, Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard,
Edward L. Davis, James F. Hunnewell, Egbert C. Smyth,
Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Franklin B. Dexter,
Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Frederic W. Putnam,
Andrew McF. Davis, J. Evarts Greene, Henry S. Nourse,
Henry H. Edes, James Phinney Baxter, G. Stanley Hall,
William E. Foster, Edwin D. Mead, Calvin Stebbins,
Francis H. Dewey, Henry A. Marsh, Thomas C. Menden-
hall, William T. Forbes, George H. Haynes, Edward S.
Morse, Waldo Lincoln, John Noble, George P. Winship,
A. Lawrence Rotch, Samuel Utley, James F. Rhodes,
Edward H. Gilbert.

The report of the Council was read by the RECORDING
SECRETARY, in connection with which Mr. CHASE presented
a paper upon the titles to the estates occupied by the
American Antiquarian Society.

The report of the Librarian was read by Mr. EDMUND
M. BARTON.

A sketch of the Life of Rt. Rev. Mandell Creighton, by
the Lord Bishop of Stepney, was read by Vice-President

GEORGE F. HOAR, who prefaced it with these remarks :—

"I desire to say that this memoir of the late Bishop of London, who is so endeared to Americans by the friendship formed on his visit here as a delegate of his college to the 250th anniversary of Harvard, and later by his great kindness in securing the return to us of the Bradford manuscript, has been prepared at the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury, by his successor, the newly-elected Bishop of London, who has not yet been consecrated or inaugurated. Although it is a very brief statement, it is a charming and delightful portraiture, as I think you will all agree."

Mr. SAMUEL S. GREEN said: "The right reverend writer of this sketch has spoken of the fact that the Bishop was a very witty man. I happen to have heard of one instance of his wit, his definition of a club. He said, 'A club is a place where women cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.' He could very properly indulge in this witticism, as it is well known that his family relations were delightful. As stated in the paper, he had a large family of children, but it is not stated that he had a very accomplished and charming wife, who survives him, and that she really was of great assistance to him at times in conducting his historical investigations."

Prof. FRANKLIN B. DEXTER read a memorial of Edward Elbridge Salisbury.

All the foregoing papers were accepted as the Report of the Council.

Before submitting the notice of Bishop Creighton, Senator HOAR said: "Mr. President, before reading the very interesting, though very brief, paper which I hold in my hand, I should like to state from recollection one or two facts suggested by the report of the Council which has been read. I should like to have it appear in the report of

the Council, where Mr. Chase speaks of the mansion still standing, erected by your honored grandfather, that it was erected by him on land purchased of John Hancock. That might add to the historic associations of 'Lincoln square.' It is perhaps known to some of the members, but ought to be preserved in a more permanent way than in memory, that John Hancock acquired the land which has been alluded to by Mr. Chase as the property of Daniel Henchman, one of the first founders of Worcester, by the will of his aunt, Mrs. Thomas Hancock, who was a Henchman. It was a farm of three hundred acres, which was taken by Daniel Henchman, the old Puritan soldier, one of the founders of Worcester. This land descended from him to the wife of John Hancock's uncle Thomas. She left it by her will to John Hancock, her husband's nephew. John Hancock dwelt there during the summer from 1781 to 1787, in a house which was moved off from the spot, but which now stands in Worcester, on Grove street.¹ It is on the right hand side as you go from Lincoln square to the wire factory, and can be easily distinguished by some architectural ornaments not common in houses of that general character.

"John Hancock dealt in real estate in Worcester quite extensively. A great many of his purchases and sales are recorded in the Worcester County Registry of Deeds, among them the sale of the land to Mr. Salisbury on what is now known as Lincoln square. The fact that he actually dwelt in the farmhouse on this farm, which then stood on Lincoln street, at the corner of Garden street (where the 'Moen house' now stands), is established by an enquiry which I made many years ago of Mrs. Frederick W. Paine, a lady who lived to be nearly one hundred, a relative of our Treasurer. She had dwelt with her husband for many years in the old Paine residence, still standing on Lincoln street. She said that the summer residence of John Hancock, on the spot south of the land of the Paines, was

¹ Southeast corner of Grove and Lexington streets.

frequently spoken of in the family when she first came to Worcester. That house was afterward the residence of Levi Lincoln, the elder, the great political leader, one of our greatest political organizers—I will not use the word ‘boss’ in the presence of his great-grandson. But he was a skilful manager of men, and, more than any other man, contributed to the great revolution in politics which took place in New England and elsewhere after the election of Mr. Jefferson. He was not only nominated, but actually appointed, by the advice and consent of the Senate, Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, by President Madison, on the urgent recommendation of Mr. Jefferson himself, who was his closest personal friend. (His papers are in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society in this building.) When the late Governor Levi Lincoln, after his graduation in 1802, delivered an address on the fourth of March, 1803, Mr. Jefferson wrote a very earnest letter to his father, commending the address, and predicting the future eminence of Mr. Lincoln. This house was sold in 1847 with the old Lincoln farm to a gentleman who cut up the land and sold it. Now the John Hancock house in Boston has gone, to the great regret of everybody. George Bancroft’s house in Worcester has been suffered by great negligence to be destroyed within a few years. It is to be hoped that the Hancock house in Worcester, with its memories of two famous statesmen, though now moved from its original place, may in some way be preserved.

“Mr. President, the report of the Council also gave an account of the release, by the heirs of Isaiah Thomas, of the conditions on which our first building on Summer street was given to the Society. I remember a very entertaining fact about that, which shows the habits and motives that affected ladies in the time when Dr. Hale and myself were young. I was a student in Judge Thomas’s office at that time, or had just been, and had an office next door to his.

He took great interest in the new hall, and in having this old estate which his grandfather had given, quitclaimed to the Society. It required the assent of all the heirs; otherwise we should forfeit the property. They got the assent of all the heirs but one lady, a cousin of the Judge, living in a neighboring town. She would not give hers. No offer of money and no persuasion could get her signature. At last the Judge was asked to take the matter in hand. He went to see her. If anybody then living could 'laugh on a lass with his bonny, blue eye,' it was Ben Thomas. He came back exultant, and reported his success in the office. He said he had tried to persuade her, and spent the whole afternoon talking to her; she said no, that her grandfather Thomas meant to have the property left in that way; and she would not sign. He told her that all the other heirs had assented; well, she didn't care about that; he told her she could have almost any sum of money she would name. All was without avail. At last, just as he was going off, he said, 'My dear cousin, if you will sign that deed you shall have the handsomest silk gown there is in Millbury;' and she signed it."

Vice-President HALE stated, on behalf of the Committee of Publication, that the Dictionary of the Natick Language, prepared by our associate, Dr. Trumbull, is nearly ready for the press. He showed to the members present the last revise,—which had been recently given him at Washington for our last correction.

The work of editing the Dictionary has been confided by the Bureau of Ethnology to the competent hands of Dr. Albert S. Gatschet, the most accomplished student of the Algonquin languages in America. Dr. Trumbull would have been most glad, could he have known that his invaluable work in the preparation of the Dictionary could be confided to a student so competent.

Doctor Hale expressed the hope that the publication of

the Dictionary might be the signal for new study of the languages which were once the only means of human intercourse on more than half of the North American continent. When in our second volume Mr. Gallatin published his valuable map describing the relations of the different Indian families with each other, most American students were surprised to see how extensive was the range of territory which was covered by those of the aborigines who spoke the Algonquin tongues. We take some pride in saying that our own publications have led the way in the careful study, whether of tribes or of languages.

Of these various dialects,—it may be fairly said that the master of one is able, or “almost able,” to understand the conversation of the master of another. The relationship between the Latin languages—Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Provençal and French—is a parallel, quite accurate, with that of the Penobscot of the East and the Ojibway of the West. Dr. Hale had laid down a list of thirty Massachusetts words before an Ojibway boy of sixteen years, who had immediately recognized fifteen of them. And Mr. Gilfillan when he read the Lord’s Prayer from Eliot’s Bible to a group of Ojibway gentlemen, found that with every repetition, they “caught on” more and more certainly until they recognized all the archaisms of the New England version.

Of these languages,—the accurate studies of Mr. James C. Pilling show that the Massachusetts dialect has the largest printed literature. His list of books now in existence in this dialect, in whole or in part, makes a collection larger in bulk than do all his other bibliographies of the Indian languages. Speaking roughly, it may be said that Mr. Pilling has brought together twenty-two hundred different titles of Algonquin works which have taken more or less place in literature. Of these books the section which may be referred directly to John Eliot numbers nearly forty different volumes, most of which were printed at Cam-

bridge. The first two primers are supposed to be lost. Of the remaining titles of this very rare series, our own Society is so fortunate as to have seven.

Dr. Hale expressed the wish that the favorable crisis in the study of the Algonquin languages might be improved, perhaps by the formation of a club of students ready to make some definite study of these languages, or better yet, by the establishment in one of the New England colleges of a scholarship or fellowship which should make special provision for some student with a gift for language to keep in mind for another century the system on which is founded that wonderful organization which distinguishes the languages of the aborigines of this country from all the other idioms of the known world. This is the language of Dr. Du Ponceau. Mr. Pickering says of it, the pride of civilization is reluctant to admit facts like these to which Dr. Du Ponceau alludes. But he goes on to show that gradually the linguists of the world have yielded to the opinions of Dr. Du Ponceau. His decision is:

"1. That the American languages in general are rich in words and in grammatical forms, and that, in their complicated construction, the greatest order, method and regularity prevail; 2. That these complicated forms, which I call polysynthetic, appear to exist in all those languages from Greenland to Cape Horn; 3. That these forms appear to differ essentially from those of the ancient and modern languages of the old hemisphere."

It is now known that Eliot's studies of this language are so careful and philosophical as to entitle him to a place among the first of philologists. His grammars and dictionaries are not to be set aside as the haphazard work of an amateur student of language, but they are among the choice resources of those who take the subject of language seriously and wish to study it in its widest relations. To be able to preserve and help forward such study is our good fortune in publishing Dr. Trumbull's invaluable vocabulary.

Doctor Hale ventured to suggest that one of the first enterprises of the new club, or possibly of our own Society, might be to reprint in a convenient form Mr. John Pickering's careful study of the Indian Languages of America in the sixth volume of the "Encyclopedia Americana."

The Council presented, through the RECORDING SECRETARY, the names of the following gentlemen as candidates for election :—

Rev. Charles Stuart Vedder, D.D., LL.D., of Charleston, S. C.

Rev. Henry Fitch Jenks, A.M., of Canton.

Rev. Williston Walker, LL.D., of Yale University.

Prof. Allen Clapp Thomas, A.M., of Haverford College, Pa.

Benjamin Thomas Hill, A.B., of Worcester.

All these gentlemen were duly elected on separate ballots.

Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS remarked :—

I have the task before me of undertaking to do two things at once. I have a paper of my own to present, and I have also to offer what is practically a communication to the Society by Mr. Benjamin F. Stevens of London.

Last fall, in preparing the paper which was submitted to the Society, in connection with the letter of Lucretia Chandler Bancroft, I made an examination of the Probate files in Worcester for the purpose of seeing if I could in any way reconcile the conflicting statements about the value of the estate of John Chandler. I knew then that there were papers in London which bore upon this point, and as I happened later to be in that city, I visited the Record Office and consulted the papers connected with the Chandler case which are deposited there. Previous to my leaving Boston I had learned from Mr. Worthington C. Ford that

there was another batch of loyalist papers in London, and Mr. Ford agreed to give me the address of the place where they were deposited. Mr. Ford's letter containing this address did not reach me in time for me to make use of it while in London, so I wrote Mr. Stevens from Paris, asking him for information concerning this new collection of papers. He wrote in reply answering my questions, and afterwards addressed a long communication to me in this country, concerning the Chandler papers. On my return I wrote to the Probate Office at Worcester, and secured from that office certified copies of all the papers touching upon the Chandler case. When these were submitted to me, typewritten, numbered in sequence and arranged in orderly form, I saw that they were well worth preserving, and I proceeded at once to procure in addition from the Superior Court a copy of the record in the Chandler confiscation suits in Worcester County. The copy of the record is also duly certified.

The papers from the Probate files begin with proceedings under a resolution passed in 1775, and then follow various proceedings under the Act to prevent waste and the several amendments to it. At a later date some of the proceedings are under the Confiscation Act, and still later under the Act that was passed to provide for the payment of the debts of an absentee out of the estates which had been confiscated. These various proceedings together with the record bring us down to the actual issue of the writs which put Levi Lincoln in possession of the property of John Chandler. These being issued after judgment form no part of the record, but when in London I saw copies of those writs, and realizing that these were needed to complete the story, I wrote to Mr. Stevens asking him what the expense would be of transcripts of all the papers covering the Chandler case. He replied that he presumed I was working for the American Antiquarian Society, and, if I would permit him, he would have transcripts made at his own expense

and would send them over as a contribution to the Society. He did this, and this book which I now submit to your inspection is the form in which he sent the transcripts. The copies are made upon beautiful paper originally prepared for Mr. Stevens's Facsimiles, and are bound in half morocco. The whole thing forms an object lesson to those who want to make gifts of this sort to the Society. I may say that when Mr. Stevens told me that he would make this gift to the Society, I wrote and asked him if I might make use of his letter which he had already written to me concerning the Chandler papers as an introduction to the gift, or if he would himself take the letter, and work it into an introductory paper. It will be seen that I have his permission to make use of it before the Society today.

After reading Mr. Stevens's letters, Mr. Davis continued :¹

That is the substance of what Mr. Stevens had to say in connection with these papers. I have practically used up the time which was at my command, and I will therefore confine myself in the consideration of the paper which I submit in my own behalf to a single point. The communication takes up the thirty papers which I got from the Probate office, analyzing each of them, pointing out the particular Act or amendment to an Act under which the paper was drawn, and under what authority for its existence it originated ; shows what defects there were in it, if any ; and in a general way treats the thing as one would if he were analyzing a proceeding going on in court today.

Collaterally with this, it takes up points which are explanatory. When we reach the inventories, we find this condition of affairs ; that John Chandler in London, as appears in this book, filed an inventory of his property in which he said that he owned property worth 11,067 pounds sterling ; that was in 1774. When that property

¹ Mr. Stevens's correspondence is given separately at the conclusion of Mr. Davis's remarks.

was inventoried in 1778, the appraisers found property amounting to 35,000 pounds and upwards. A year later it was inventoried again, and had become 75,000 pounds. I might say Chandler's estimate in sterling was equivalent to about 14,000 pounds. The lawful money pound was \$3.66 as against \$4.88 for the sterling pound, and the returns of the appraisers purport to be in lawful money. As if to complicate things, Dr. Chandler when he published his genealogy, in copying that inventory put in that 75,000 pounds as an item, and thus doubled the estate. Later writers took Dr. Chandler's total, multiplied it by five to convert the pounds into dollars, and in a recent magazine article the estate was spoken of as if it were worth about three quarters of a million. I do not undertake to deal in my paper with any valuations except those of Chandler and the appraisers. The later ones I do not consider worth discussing; but in order that I might see if there was any possibility of arriving at any explanation of what currency was used, for it is evident it was currency valuation, I arranged these values in a tabular form, and have devoted a few words to a discussion of the currency situation in Massachusetts. I may not have gained much out of it, but there are some facts that are interesting in this connection. The commissioners were appointed to estimate the value of the real estate in lawful money, and this lawful money must have had a fluctuating value, to produce the results which we find in the different appraisals.

From Letter of B. F. Stevens to A. McF. Davis.

LONDON, 20 Nov. 1900.

A history of the vicissitudes, losses, custody and preservation of the Loyalists' books and papers in the Record Office would be as romantic as interesting. It has usually been assumed that the Commissioners' Entry and Minute Books have been a fairly complete recapitulation of the papers presented by the respective Claimants and these volumes of Entry and Minute Books have been consecu-

tively numbered as if fairly complete. I have found a statement by one of the Commissioners to the effect that soon after the Board of Commissioners delivered their books and papers to the Government several volumes were stolen or lost. That is a hundred years ago. The remaining books and papers were repacked and stored in official custody until they came into the Public Record Office some forty or fifty years ago. When they were unpacked they seem to have taken their present consecutive numbering. Since making the above mentioned Index¹ I have undertaken to ascertain which volumes were stolen or lost, and I have also endeavored to ascertain if the Claimants' original papers, dealt with in those volumes, were also stolen or if they are still preserved; and so far as I have been able to carry the examination up to the present time I have in every individual case found the original papers that were submitted by these Claimants and I have been able to definitely specify the lost volumes and to specify the Claimants' cases contained in them. I will not weary you with a further history of the vicissitudes of these Loyalist Books and Papers.

Your subject is *John Chandler* who was a Claimant for "temporary support" and was afterwards a Claimant for "Losses Sustained." In my former letter I told you of one Return found at the Royal Institution showing that J. Chandler was in receipt of a dollar a day for "temporary support."²

John Chandler addressed a Memorial to Lord George Germain, 2 Sept. 1776, for temporary support; also A petition to the Treasury 17 Feb. 1779, when he transmitted Certificates by Thomas Gage and Thomas Hutchinson, dated 28 Jan. 1779, by Thomas Oliver 30 Jan. 1779, and Robert Auchmuty, 17 Feb. 1779. A further Certificate by Auchmuty 29 Oct. 1782 and one by Thomas Flucker 4 Nov. 1782, were presented.

John Chandler's was one of 315 cases that were under the consideration of the Crown before the passing of the Act of Parliament creating the Board of Commissioners for enquiring into the subject of compensation for losses

¹ A type-written Index to certain volumes in the Record Office, of which Mr. Hubert Hall has a carbon copy.

² It will be seen from what Mr. Stevens says in his letter of March 29, that the J. Chandler here referred to was Joshua Chandler of Connecticut.

sustained *etc.* These 315 cases, as unfinished business, were turned over to the new Board of Commissioners and the Commissioners' Report upon John Chandler's case is dealt with in the Vol. 105 mentioned by Mr. Hall as called for in the Index referred to. A transcript of the Commissioners' four Volumes, "Old Claims" including this Vol. 105 is in the New York Public Library.

This award for Temporary Support is not brought forward into the great Index Volume 109 of Liquidations, which Volume 109 is a recapitulation of the Commissioners' Reports upon "New Claims" and "Fresh Claims" for Compensation for Losses Sustained.

The Commissioners before beginning their work under the Acts of Parliament, invited information from prominent persons with a view to avoiding fraudulent or improper claims. The Commissioners sent Mr. Anstey to America to collect the Laws of the several States against Loyalists, Lists of proscribed persons, Confiscations, Sales, Court Proceedings, Advertisements, and in short, to get such official and other information as he could obtain that would be useful to the Commissioners in checking or weighing the individual Claimants' Evidences, *etc.* Anstey sent home 18 or 20 volumes and among these Anstey volumes are the 81, 82, 83, and Vol. 84 mentioned in the Index referred to by Mr. Hall. The information in these Anstey Volumes with reference to John Chandler was therefore not supplied by Chandler.

The Commissioners' Minute Book of Examinations in London of Massachusetts Claims, including that of John Chandler, is lost; but from the original papers I find Chandler's Memorial 9 Feb. 1784, Schedule of Losses, real and personal, £11,067-13-6. There is a note stating that he supposes that the debts due to him are secured by the Treaty, and there is a memorandum of Tracts of land he has yet no evidence of yet being confiscated. There are Affidavits of James Putnam, Daniel Murray, Ebenezer Cutler, Abijah Willard, and Joshua Upham sworn before the Commissioners in July and August 1784. There are many accompanying papers, Affidavits, Exhibits, Certificates, Writs, Judgments, Letters, Appraisements, *etc.*, *etc.*, with supplementary Schedules lifting the Claim from the £11,067-13-6 to £16,566-13-6. These papers are of

various dates down to 30 August 1788. Some of these papers are apparently copies of Worcester County Records, and it is very likely that some of them are duplicated in the Anstey Collection. The papers are not in chronological or systematic order, and hence my memoranda may not be in proper sequence.

In the ordinary course the Commissioners would examine all the papers and then would lay aside the Memorial, one Schedule of Losses, when more than one, Evidences, including affidavits, and perhaps one or two certificates to be copied into the Minute Book. The Commissioners by their own hands took down the oral evidence of the Claimant and usually of two or three witnesses. These Hearing Notes would also be given in the Minute Book and lastly, the Commissioners "Determination" usually about one page recapitulating the principal points of their reasons for arriving at their decision and stating the amount awarded. The oral evidence and the Determination are never preserved with the Claimants' papers but are only in the Minute Books; and as this Volume of Minutes is lost we do not find the oral Evidence and Determination but we do get the amount of the award in the Liquidation Book, Vol. 109,—Transcript of which is in the New York Public Library.

From Letter of B. F. Stevens to A. McF. Davis.

February 20, 1901.

As to the cost of the transcripts, I beg you will allow me to send them without charge, as I presume you are intending to use them for the American Antiquarian Society, and to this end I shall be glad if you will receive them as my contribution to that Society.

From Letter of B. F. Stevens to A. McF. Davis.

March 29, 1901.

To my letter of 20 November, which you are good enough to say you would like to make use of before the Society, I may add that on the general subject of compensation to Loyalists it will be convenient to consult amongst other publications three contemporaneous pamphlets, one or more of which are attributed to Joseph Galloway:—"Observations on the Fifth Article of the Treaty with

America and on the necessity of appointing a judicial inquiry into the merits and losses of the American Loyalists." Printed by order of their Agents. (1783.) 8vo pp. vi and 19. "The Case and Claim of the American Loyalists impartially stated and considered." Printed by order of their Agents. (not dated.) 8vo, pp. 38. "The Claim of the American Loyalists reviewed and maintained upon incontrovertible principles of law and justice." London. 8vo. MDCCLXXXVIII. pp. viii and 138.

Some idea of the expenditures "for the relief and benefit of sundry American officers and others who have suffered on account of their attachment to His Majesty's Government" will be seen in Number 2024 of my Facsimiles.

I especially refer to the printed book entitled "Historical View of the Commission for Enquiry into the Losses, Services and Claims of the American Loyalists," by John Eardley-Wilmot. London. 1815. 8vo. pp. viii and 203,—for further information (pages 15, 16, 19–22) with regard to the 315 claims mentioned in my letter of 20 November.

The bundles of original papers in the Audit Office series in which alone many of the claims for compensation can now be found, owing to the loss of some of the Commissioners' books, are of varying sizes and descriptions. Bundle 73, from which most of the John Chandler transcripts are taken, is approximately a cubic foot and contains the papers of many claimants. The papers of each individual claimant are folded together, but otherwise there is no systematic arrangement. I have endeavored to give to my transcripts a chronological sequence. I have not copied duplicates but have merely indicated them by a note and reference, and, in order not to interfere with the actual transcript, these explanatory notes are in blue ink.

I find on examination of Vol. 84 of the Audit Office series that although the index to this one of Mr. Anstey's volumes calls for John Chandler the references are actually to Joshua Chandler, a Connecticut claimant.

Mr. Davis, having concluded the reading of these interesting and valuable communications, submitted to the inspection of the members of the Society, the transcripts

forwarded by Mr. Stevens. The paper used bears Mr. Stevens's private water mark. The copies are the work of a professional scrivener. The 353 pages are contained in a beautiful volume bound in half morocco and labelled—John Chandler, *American Loyalist*—1901.¹

Senator HOAR remarked: "The communication I have to make is not an original one, but I thought it was so emphatic and so unconscious a tribute to the United States in one of the greatest transactions in modern history, that it was worth reading to the Society and of a place in our Proceedings. It is a circular which I received by mail within a few days from Japan, of the movement there among the Japanese to commemorate the occasion of less than a century ago of the visit to Japan by Commodore Perry, to which the Japanese attribute their entry on their great career among civilized nations, and the testimony of gratitude of the Japanese people to the United States. This is a circular in behalf of the Perry monument, which I will read."

THE PERRY MONUMENT.

Forty-eight years ago, on the 8th of July in the 6th year of Kayei, an American envoy arrived in Japan, on a mission which was destined to become an epoch-making event in the history of Japan. This envoy was none other than Commodore Perry, U.S.N., who, by order of the President of the North American Republic, came to this country for the purpose of concluding a treaty of commerce and friendly intercourse between the two nations. On the 14th of the month above mentioned, the envoy landed at Kurihama, Miura-gori, in the province of Sagami, and there held conferences repeatedly with the officials of the Tokugawa Regency. The object of his mission

¹ It was evidently desirable that the several papers forming the subject of Mr. Davis's paper should be published in connection with this paper, but they were manifestly too voluminous for our Proceedings. It has been concluded therefore, after consultation, that it would be better that the communications, the papers on our Court files, and the manuscripts sent by Mr. Stevens should be separately published, in book form, and this we understand Mr. Davis purposes to do.—COM.

successfully accomplished, the Commodore sailed home shortly after.

This visit of Commodore Perry was in a word the turning of the key which opened the doors of the Japanese Empire to friendly intercourse with the United States, and subsequently to the rest of the nations of Europe on similar terms, and may in truth be regarded as the most memorable event in our annals, an event which paved the way for and accelerated the introduction of a new order of things, an event that enabled the country to enter upon the unprecedented era of national ascendancy in which we are now living. There is a reason then—a strong reason—that this visit of Commodore Perry, no less than the spot where those memorable conferences took place, should be perpetuated in the memory of the Japanese people.

True Japan has not forgotten—nor will she ever forget—that next to her reigning and most beloved Sovereign, whose high virtues and great wisdom are above all praise, she owes, in no small degree, her present prosperity to the United States of America, in that the latter rendered her the great and lasting service already referred to. After the lapse of these 48 years her people have, however, come to entertain but an uncertain memory of Kurihama, and yet it was there that Commodore Perry first trod on the soil of Japan and for the first time awoke the country from a slumberous seclusion of three centuries—there it was where first gleamed the light that has ever since illumined Japan's way in her new career of progress. Even writers seldom mention the place now, and the spot where the American envoy landed and which should forever be remembered in our history threatens to be forgotten altogether.

Last fall we had the pleasure of meeting Rear-Admiral Beardslee, U.S.N., who, as a naval cadet and a member of the crew under Commodore Perry, landed at Kurihama on the historical occasion, and who after these 48 years once more came back to pay a visit to this country. Beckoned by the memories of the past the Admiral went to Kurihama immediately after his arrival in Japan, but he was only able to ascertain the spot where the envoy and his party had landed half a century ago by the help of an old survivor of those by-gone days. We were greatly moved

by his account of his second visit to Kurihama, and we immediately set on foot a movement to erect a fitting monument which may perpetuate the place in question in the memory of our posterity. We have since made such progress with this movement that a site for the monument has already been selected. It is our determination to accomplish the end in view with all possible promptitude and to hold the ceremony of unveiling the monument on the coming anniversary of the landing of the American envoy at Kurihama, the 14th of July this year. We hope that those who are interested in the matter will favour us by endorsing our undertaking in a substantial manner.

BARON KENTARO KANEKO,
President, Bei-yu Kyo-kai,
(American Association of Japan).

Tokyo, January, 1901.

P.S.—Subscriptions should be sent to the office of Bei-yu Kyo-kai, 12 Yamashiro-cho, Kyobashi-ku, Tokyo. Subscription list will be closed on the 30th May, 1901.

After reading the circular, Senator HOAR continued :—

"This is a movement for a memorial to not only one of the greatest events in the history of Japan, but one of the greatest events in the history of the United States, where in her power and prosperity she took by the hand this infant nation and led her into civilization without a thought of her own advantage, of extending her own empire, or of setting her own flag over the territory of an unwilling people."

In connection with the same subject, THOMAS C. MENDENHALL, LL.D., said :—

"I can certainly add nothing to the impressiveness with which Senator Hoar has presented this interesting document, representing an important epoch in the history not only of Japan but of the United States. I might add a word which would be of interest. I had the pleasure of knowing very well the signer of that paper, and being his travelling companion for more than a month, and know his

great interest in and the great indebtedness which he always acknowledged to the United States. While in Japan I had a very interesting personal experience in relation to Commodore Perry's visit, that came to me quite unexpectedly, and might be worthy of mention at this time. During the progress of the treaty with Japan many presents of value and beauty were made by Commodore Perry in the name of the President of the United States. When the Shogun was for a time exiled, perhaps before that, a great many of these were turned over to the University, such as globes, charts, *etc.* On one occasion I wanted to find something which I had heard was a part of that gift of the President of the United States,—a certain globe which I wanted to use in one of my lectures,—and I learned on inquiry that all those things of an educational nature or character were stored away in a certain place. I spent several hours in exploring, but instead of finding what I wanted, I found something more interesting and valuable. I found a large oaken box about three or four feet long, covered with dust, and on removing the cover found a brass plate indicating that this was a present from the President of the United States to the Emperor of Japan. When we got it out and opened it,—a thing which had not occurred before for perhaps twenty-five years, I was greatly delighted to find a very beautifully finished and completely equipped set of telegraph instruments that the President had sent to the Emperor. The natives were impressed with the wonderful working of this telegraph, by which messages were transmitted from one point to another, and perhaps this present had as much to do with accomplishing the treaty as anything connected with it. It happened at that time that I was engaged in giving a course of public lectures to government officers, in which was engaged also my friend and our associate, Professor Edward S. Morse. My own course happened to be on the subject of electricity and its application. So

I had very great pleasure in taking that set of instruments as presented twenty-five years before by the President, and setting them up again in this course of lectures and using them as an illustration and example of the method by which messages were transmitted by telegraph. The instruments were also useful, of course, as illustrating the type of instrument in use twenty-five years before, shortly after the application of electricity to telegraph purposes."

Professor EDWARD S. MORSE, being called upon, said : " It occurs to me as being rather curious, that Commodore Perry's visit to Japan resulted in a change in my life. As a young man I was interested in shells, and my first visit to Washington in 1865 was for the purpose of examining a collection of shells, and I was very much interested in the difference in shells between the east and west. During that visit I saw a beautiful screen that had been presented to Commodore Perry by some high official of Japan. I had never seen Japanese art before, and was so impressed with it that out of six days that I spent there, I spent three in copying that screen. I then read of Commodore Perry's trip, and resolved to go to Japan, and in ten or fifteen years I was enabled to do so. That brought about an entire change in my work, and the catalogue recently published by the Museum of Fine Arts is a result of Commodore Perry's visit to Japan."

The Hon. WILLIAM T. FORBES read a paper upon "Man-teo and Jack Straw."

Before reading the paper Judge Forbes said —

"The archives of this Commonwealth contain more important letters, reports and other documents relating to our colonial and provincial history than exist in the record department of any other State. They are not fully or properly arranged or indexed; and there is not room enough in the quarters assigned to them for convenient examination and study. So far as I have learned, this

Society has never called the attention of the Legislature to the value of this collection and its present condition.

The custodian of this division of the State Archives informs me that an appropriation of \$150,000, expended through a term of fifteen years would be sufficient to cover the cost of placing this department in proper order.

I suggest that this Society secure the coöperation of other societies interested in our early history; and that they should ask the next Legislature to provide by a small appropriation for starting this important work."

A paper on the "Province Snow, 'Prince of Orange,'" was read by Mr. WALDO LINCOLN. Mr. Lincoln said, "About the time of the late Spanish war my attention was called in connection with some genealogical studies, to what I believe to have been the first naval battle in which an American or colonial vessel was engaged, and it seemed to me worthy of preservation. I do not find that any connected story of this ship has ever been printed. The story of the fight is buried in the newspapers of the day, and the name of the vessel, I think, is entirely forgotten."

Senator HOAR related a few anecdotes, suggested to him by what Professor Morse had said, and also by the paper read by Judge Forbes. "When the present Japanese minister came to Washington, two or three years ago, our associate Dr. Alexander Graham Bell gave him a dinner to which I was invited. Mr. Bell made a little speech at the dinner, in which he said that his first acquaintance with His Excellency was formed when His Excellency was a student at Harvard. He had then set up, I think, the first absolutely successful telephonic apparatus in some building in Boston, possibly the Tremont House; he had a circuit of wire that went round and round and came back to a room below, where the speaker was to be stationed. A quite eminent Japanese happened to be in Boston, and came to see the apparatus. He was very much impressed by it, but you could not persuade him that the machine could talk Jap-

anese. At last, Professor Bell heard of a Japanese student at Harvard, and sent for him. He came in and was put at the lower end of the apparatus, and the Japanese gentleman talked through the other, and in that way they were able to believe it could talk Japanese as well as English.

"Judge Forbes stated an interesting fact as to the name of his friend, a well-known clergyman in our part of the State, Reverend Hercules Warren Fay, as derived from the great strength manifested by him as an infant; and that reminded me of what perhaps the Society might like to know of the origin of the name of a very celebrated person in public life of this country, Hon. Hannibal Hamlin, later Vice-President of the United States. I will state that I asked Mr. Hamlin himself whether it was true, shortly before his death, and while he did not admit it he did not deny it. The fact was this: Somebody was writing a biographical sketch of him, and tried to find out where the name Hannibal came from. He applied after some want of success to an old neighbor of Hannibal Hamlin's father, whether he could tell him where the name of Hannibal Hamlin came from. 'Well,' said the old farmer, 'it was because he used to be able to swear a very large oath when he was a very small boy.'"

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE said that he understood it was an unwritten rule of the Society that no vote of thanks should be passed for gifts. He could understand that where so many gifts were constantly being received it would trespass too much upon the time of our meetings to undertake to give formal expression of our gratitude in each instance, yet he felt that today there was occasion for the violation of this rule. The members of the Society had seen the beautiful volume containing the transcripts of the Chandler papers in London, which had been forwarded to the Society by their associate Benjamin F. Stevens. The interest thus shown by a foreign member

was so unusual, the volume itself was so tasteful, the whole thing was so well done that it made the gift unique and entitled to especial recognition on our part; he would therefore move that a vote of thanks be passed. It was thereupon

Voted: That the thanks of the Society be tendered to Benjamin F. Stevens, L.H.D., for the volume of transcripts of the Chandler papers, which he has forwarded to the Society under the title of "John Chandler, American Loyalist," and that the Recording Secretary be instructed to convey to Mr. Stevens the high appreciation which this Society entertains of the great care bestowed upon the preparation of these valuable papers, and the taste and judgment displayed in presenting them in the form of a beautiful volume which can find a permanent resting-place upon the shelves of our library.

For the information of the Society Mr. EDWIN D. MEAD stated that the present year is the millennium of the death of King Alfred. "According to common tradition Alfred died in 901; this fact rather confirms the theory of Dr. Green that traditions are commonly false, because it is elsewhere stated that he died two or three years before that. The English people have selected this year for the celebration. In 1849, the millennium of his birth was celebrated in an impressive way in Berkshire, which was his birth-place, and a much more important commemoration is to be held this year at Winchester, which was for many years his capital, and which is believed to be the place of his birth; and a magnificent monument is at that time to be dedicated. A large English committee has been working for this commemoration for three years, and has at its head the Mayor of London, and includes many Americans, among them our Ambassador. That committee has asked the learned societies throughout the world to coöperate in this matter. The American Historical Association appointed a committee of three, of which Dr. John M. Vincent is the

chairman. Mr. John Fiske and other American scholars are to be present, and it seems desirable that in America there should be commemorations of this event coincident with the commemorations in England. At the time of the millennium in 1849 there was a publication of an edition of King Alfred's works, and the present commemoration will lead to much Alfred literature. Many of you have seen the volume which has been published by the English committee under the editorship of the Mayor of Winchester, with an introduction by Sir Walter Besant, and monographs by many English scholars on different phases of Alfred's activity. There seems every reason why America should commemorate this event and coöperate in this matter. He is our inheritance as well as England's. He was the greatest of England's kings, and is regarded by most students as the most perfect character in history. He was a great king, a great man, and he was a great scholar, which is for us to remember. He did a momentous work for the elevation of the Anglo-Saxon race, and it seems proper that we should remember it. I do not know what action the Society cares to take, but it does seem that we should refer to this matter in some way."

On motion of Hon. ELIJAH B. STODDARD, it was referred by a unanimous vote, to the Council of the Society to appoint a delegate or delegates to this commemoration.

Upon the suggestion of Senator HOAR, the Society voted that the Council be directed, whenever it shall find that the resources of the Society warrant the expenditure, to procure for the Hall a portrait of Hon. Edward Everett, its former president.

Prof. FREDERIC W. PUTNAM informed the Society that the International Congress of American scholars will meet in New York a year from this summer. The exact date is

not yet known, but will probably be in August or September, 1902. He said, "There has been a large committee formed in New York; there has also been appointed a large committee by the American Association for the Advancement of Science,—a general committee throughout the whole of America. This takes in the United States, Mexico and Canada in the general committee, and it is proposed that all scientific institutions bearing upon the early history of America, all antiquarian and historical societies, the leading educational institutions, large universities, *etc.*, and the various government organizations bearing on archæology and ethnology and geography, shall all be represented upon this general committee, and make it purely an American committee. And I wish to request, as chairman of this committee, that the American Antiquarian Society appoint a delegate to that general committee. The committee is to act probably this fall, and that is why I ask it before the October meeting. It ought to be appointed within a month or two."

Upon motion of Dr. MENDENHALL, it was voted that the Council have power to appoint a delegate to act upon this ethnological and archæological committee.

Dr. HALE expressed a desire that some one would inform him why Worcester is so named, as in his opinion it must be the most hateful name in England to the Stuart family.

Senator HOAR suggested that a good many English names were adopted, but the city of Worcester would have been of itself rather obnoxious to our ancestors of that day, because it was the city most famous for its fidelity to the house of Stuart. But the battle was of course the crowning event, and the name was given by three Puritan soldiers, Henchman, Prentice and Gookin. Two of them had served under Cromwell himself; all of them had

served in the Civil War on the rebel side, and it is supposed they would not have thought of selecting Worcester except for the fact of the battle.

The President requested that members would volunteer to read papers or communications, and notify him in advance, and thus aid him in preparing for the meetings.

The Society voted that the various papers and communications be referred to the Committee on Publication.

Dissolved.

CHARLES A. CHASE,

Recording Secretary.

After the adjournment of the meeting many of the Members present dined together at "The Somerset" hotel.—*Com.*

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE report of the Librarian, to be presented herewith, shows about the normal amount of accessions, both in numbers and in value. This is gratifying, but it is to be wished that more of the members would feel an interest in this simple method by which they could in an easy way contribute much to the Society. The trifles of a hundred and fifty, even those of seventy-five years ago are the treasures of to-day; and if members would send to the Librarian every bit of printed matter which comes into their hands, or even the most insignificant part of it, it would be received with hearty thanks. Let the members come up to the October meeting laden with literature. All express routes lead to Worcester.

At the last meeting of the Society, the Council reported, through the Treasurer, that a fund had been created, of which the income was to be applied to the purchase of literature relating to the Civil War of 1861-65. It occurred to the Council that the supply of this literature might in time become limited or even exhausted. Therefore, with the consent of the donors, the Council passed this vote:—

Resolved, that in accordance with the permission of the donors of the John and Eliza Bancroft Davis fund, the income thereof be expended for the purposes set forth in the gift, so long as such material can be procured; and that thereafter, when in any year enough material cannot be found or cannot be purchased at a reasonable price, the balance of the income may be expended for the general purposes of the library.

In building a new Court House, at Worcester, the County, through its agents, have encroached upon the land and easements of this Society. But, under the authority granted by the Society, deeds have recently been interchanged by which the boundary lines have been readjusted. This subject is treated at length in another place.

Since the last meeting death has taken from our number six members: Cushman Kellogg Davis, William Wirt Henry, Moses Coit Tyler, Mandell Creighton, Edward Elbridge Salisbury and William Stubbs. Some memorial of these gentlemen will be prepared in due time.

Mandell Creighton was born at Carlisle in 1843. He was educated first at Carlisle Grammar School, whence he won a King's Scholarship at Durham School. On leaving school he gained a "postmastership" at Merton College, Oxford, where he obtained a first class in classical moderations in 1864, followed by a first in *literae humaniores* and a second in law and modern history in 1866. In the same year he was elected to a fellowship at Merton, and he remained in Oxford as a tutor till 1875. In 1872 he married Louise, daughter of Robert von Glehn, a Russian merchant settled in London. In 1873 he was ordained priest; and in 1875 the college presented him to Embleton, a country living in Northumberland, which he held for nearly ten years. His chief object in retiring to the country was to gain more leisure for historical study, and it was there he began the greatest literary work of his life—"The History of the Papacy during the Reformation." The first and second volumes appeared in 1882 and at once placed him in the forefront of the historians of his time. In 1884 he was elected to the newly founded Dixie Professorship of Ecclesiastical History at Cambridge, which was combined with a fellowship at Emmanuel College. His life at Cambridge was full of activity—academical,

intellectual, professorial and social—and when Harvard College in Massachusetts—an offshoot of Emmanuel in the New World—celebrated its centenary in 1886, he was chosen by his college to represent it on the occasion.

It was in 1886 too, that he, with other leading historians, founded the *English Historical Review*, which he continued to edit until he was promoted to his first bishopric. To his academical preferment was subsequently added a canonry of Worcester Cathedral, to which he was nominated by the Crown in 1885. From there he was afterwards transferred to a canonry at Windsor, but, being almost immediately elevated to the episcopal bench, he never resided at Windsor.

In 1891 he was appointed to the see of Peterborough, and in 1896 he was selected by the Archbishop of Canterbury to attend the coronation of the Russian Emperor at Moscow, as representative of the English Church. In 1897 he was translated from Peterborough to London.

He died on January 14th, 1901, at the age of 57, leaving three sons and four daughters.

Two more volumes of the "History of the Papacy" were published whilst he was at Cambridge and a fifth shortly after he went to Peterborough, but the absorbing duties of episcopal life did not allow of the completion of his great work.

His chief other publications were a "Primer of Roman History," "The Age of Elizabeth," "The Life of Simon de Montfort," "A Primer of English History" and the "Life of Wolsey."

The above sketch will give some idea of his intellectual capacity and deep learning, but to these must be added a great personal charm. He was one of the most brilliant conversationalists of his time; his wit and knowledge of human nature made a lasting impression on all who heard him. In public he was a very ready speaker, with a vigorous and yet perfectly easy style; and in lecturing he had

the wonderful faculty of making the driest subject interesting and the most difficult clear. As a friend, he was faithful, wise and true. Perhaps the greatest testimony to his genius is shown by the effect which he contrived to make upon London during his comparatively brief episcopate. When he died, all felt that a great light had gone out, and that the world was poorer, sadder and weaker for his loss.

Edward Elbridge Salisbury, of eminent Massachusetts ancestry, and the only son of Deacon Josiah Salisbury (Harvard College, 1798) and Abigail (Breese) Salisbury, was born in Boston on April 6, 1814. His early training was given by his father, who died in 1826, after which his preparation for college was completed at the Boston Latin School, and he entered Yale in 1828. He was graduated with high honors in 1832, and his mother having followed him to New Haven he remained at his home there engaged in theological and other advanced studies until the spring of 1836, when he married his first cousin, Abigail, daughter of Edward Phillips, Esq., of Boston, and immediately after went to Europe for travel and further study. The interest he had taken in Hebrew now led him to adopt the Oriental languages as his special field, and under the teaching of DeSacy and Garcin de Tassy in Paris and Bopp in Berlin he made such progress that after his return to America the Yale Corporation took, in 1841, at the suggestion of his brother-in-law, Professor (afterwards President) Woolsey, the step of establishing a professorship of the Arabic and Sanskrit languages, to which he was appointed, without the expectation of pecuniary compensation.

Accepting this appointment, he went again to Europe in 1842, and spent a winter in Bonn in further study under Lassen. He delivered his inaugural address, on Arabic and Sanskrit Literature, at Yale, in August, 1843, and

retained his professorship until 1856. In the meantime his pupil, Mr. William D. Whitney, had been appointed in 1854 Professor of Sanskrit, at the desire of Mr. Salisbury, who made a permanent provision (increased at a later date) for the endowment of the chair. After his retirement he continued to reside in New Haven, retaining ever a deep interest in everything affecting the progress of the University, and while shrinking always from public notoriety affording a rare example of cultivated scholarship and high-bred courtesy to the constantly narrowing circle of those warm friends who knew and appreciated his worth.

The American Oriental Society had been organized in 1842, and Professor Salisbury soon after his entrance on his professorship became its Corresponding Secretary, and until 1857 bore the chief burden of securing and editing contributions for the Society's *Journal* and of providing for the expense of their publication. He also accepted reluctantly the office of President of the Society in 1863, but resigned in 1866. His attainments in scholarship were duly recognized by election to various other learned societies, as well as by the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from Yale College in 1869 and from Harvard in 1886. He was made a member of this Society in October, 1861, and stood at the time of his death as the seventh in order on our roll. His only contribution to our publications is a letter of four pages, printed in the *Proceedings* for October, 1871, which describes minutely the copy in the British Museum of the original edition of Addison's *Spectator*. A year later his gift of a similar copy to our Library is recorded.

Besides his *Inaugural Discourse* and other occasional pamphlets, he published a number of valuable articles in the *Journal of the Oriental Society* and the *New Englander*; and in later life he gave much time and attention to researches in family history, and was lavish in expendi-

ture to the same end. He printed privately in 1885 a sumptuous volume of *Family Memorials*, dealing exhaustively with the various branches of his ancestry; and subsequently in coöperation with his wife he prepared a similar series, extending to five quarto volumes, of *Family Histories and Genealogies*, relating to her lines of descent, which were printed in 1882.

Professor Salisbury was a distinguished benefactor of Yale University, and the value of some of his more important gifts was enhanced by the special timeliness of their bestowal. His securing the retention at New Haven of Professor Whitney has been mentioned, besides which he had the high satisfaction of determining by a similar gift the acceptance by the late Professor James D. Dana of his call to a Professorship at Yale in 1850. He was the largest donor to the College Library building erected in 1842-43, and as one of the building committee had a prominent part in determining the plan of the structure. In 1870 he gave to the library what was up to that time the largest single accession to its treasures, his exceedingly valuable collection of Oriental books and manuscripts, to which to the end of his life he continued to make important additions. He was also a generous donor to the Theological Department and to the School of the Fine Arts—a department in which his cultivated æsthetic tastes led him to take the deepest interest.

The wife of his youth died in 1869, and his only child, a daughter, in 1875. In November, 1871, he married Miss Evelyn MacCurdy, the only child of Judge Charles J. MacCurdy (Yale Coll., 1817), of Lyme, Connecticut, who survives him.

He died at his home in New Haven, after a short illness, on February 5, 1901, in his 87th year. F. B. D.

For the Council,

CHARLES A. CHASE.

LAND TITLES OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

BY CHARLES A. CHASE.

At the April meeting of this Society, two years ago, it being the last one which we were to hold as guests of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, I gave some account of the places in which the Boston meetings had been held since the first meeting for organization on Nov. 11, 1812.

Within the last month there have been entered of Record in the Registry of Deeds at Worcester,¹ instruments by which the County of Worcester and the American Antiquarian Society by mutual agreements and releases establish forever the boundaries between their respective estates, which have been recently changed by the action of the County Commissioners under the sanction of the General Court.

The land on which the first Hall of the Society was erected, was in the immediate neighborhood of the lot now occupied, and it seemed fitting to the writer to trace the land titles of each estate, and to make them a matter of record in our Proceedings. This he has not done strictly after the manner of the professional conveyancer, but in a way which will give the history of the titles with some side facts not without interest in themselves.

In going back to the early proprietors of this land, we are struck by the very goodly fellowship in which we find our original grantors. Capt. Daniel Gookin was chairman

¹ See end of this paper.

of the first committee appointed by the General Court in 1665 to view the neighborhood and to determine "if there be a meet place for a plantation." A committee, appointed later, to have charge of the settlement, included Capt. Gookin, Daniel HENCHMAN, Richard BEERS and Thomas PRENTICE. To Dr. LEONARD HOAR of Concord, third President of Harvard College, 25 acres were assigned in the first allotment. The death of Dr. Hoar occurred at about the same time, and 40 acres were subsequently granted to his executrix, Mrs. BRIDGET USHER of Boston, in lieu of the original grant. Capt. ADAM WINTHROP, a grandson of Gov. JOHN WINTHROP, was one of the first settlers, and at the death of Gen. Gookin succeeded to the latter's place as the representative of the interests of the Commonwealth. CORNELIUS WALDO, JR., in company with THOMAS PALMER of Boston, and JOHN OULTON of Marblehead, became the owners of very large tracts of land. Mr. WALDO's son DANIEL was President of the first bank established in Worcester, and the latter's daughter was the mother of Gov. LEVI LINCOLN.

The fame of DANIEL GOOKIN, to whom more than to any other one man Worcester owes its settlement, is by no means simply local. He was the associate of JOHN ELIOT in the work of civilizing the Indians; and the Indians of the whole colony were placed under his charge by the Legislature in 1656. He was appointed by CROMWELL a commissioner to induce New Englanders to emigrate to the island of JAMAICA; but his efforts in this direction met with slight success, and he threw up the commission. In 1674 he published "*Historical Collections of the Indians in New England; of their Several Nations, Numbers, Customs, Manners, Religion and Government before the English planted there.*"¹ His "*History of the Christian Indians*"

¹ These are in the form of Epistles. They were all dated in 1674, but were first printed in 1792. *Vide Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society: Vol. I., pp. 141 et seq.*

was published in the second volume of Transactions of this Society.¹ From the office of captain he was promoted to be major-general in the service of the colony.

Only second to Gookin in his services to the new plantation was Capt. Daniel Henchman. He had been most active in the war of defence and offence against the Indians, and at the close of the war entered with zeal upon the work of establishing the "Plantation at Quinsigamond," as the settlement was first called from the name of the beautiful lake upon its eastern boundary. Capt. Henchman "was a cousin of Judge Samuel Sewall, and allied by family ties to the Hulls, Gookins, Quincys and Eliots." His holdings of land were very extensive. His homestead estate was on both sides of "the country road"² at the north entrance to the village. There he erected a house in 1683. At his death a portion of the land passed to his son Nathaniel, and later to Gov. John Hancock. A part of this farm was subsequently conveyed to "the first Levi Lincoln" as he is called at Worcester, father of Gov. Lincoln, and a part to Samuel and Stephen Salisbury, the last named being the grandfather of our President.

The other two members of the first committee to have charge of the settlement, Capt. Thomas Prentice of Woburn and Lieut. Richard Beers of Watertown, were also distinguished for military prowess and for valuable services in civil life.

It would be out of place in an essay like this to bring in all the names of the brilliant and famous men who came to Worcester in the early years following its final settlement in the year 1713. The village had been twice abandoned because of the overwhelming attacks of hostile Indians. It must be only in connection with the history of our real estate that we mention the names of the Chandlers, Lin-

¹ *Archæologia Americana*, Vol. II., pp. 423 *et seq.*

² Lincoln Street.

colns, Paines, Waldos, Salisburys and other families, without stopping to pay tribute to their virtues and great merits.

On Feb. 23, 1737-8, Thomas Palmer, an original proprietor,¹ conveyed to John Chandler, jr., "81 acres on which is a mansion house and barn, of which 44 acres is second division land, 16 acres on Goulding's right and 21 third division on Wing's right." This John Chandler, jr., was the fourth John Chandler, and the third of the name to wear the ermine in Worcester County. He was the father of Lucretia Chandler Bancroft, whose remarkable and beautiful letter to her daughter was printed in the last number of our Proceedings (pp. 125 *et seq.*) accompanied by biographical and historical sketches by her grandsons, Horace and Andrew McFarland Davis.² This estate, with large additions acquired by later purchases, was called "the down town farm" and was a part of the dower set off to his wife after his flight to England. Mrs. Chandler died in 1783. The Legislature, by a Resolve passed June 23, 1785, granted most of her husband's estate to her seven youngest children. Charles, the oldest of these, and Samuel, who was next to him, bought out the rights of the other five, in the "several messuages, tracts and parsels," paying £320 for each right.

At this point we must digress for a moment to bring in some account of an organization which has been a near neighbor of this Society in both of its locations. The

¹The Proprietors' Records of Worcester cover the period from 1667 to 1733, with a hiatus from 1686 to 1713. A copy was made in 1856 by Mr. Frank W. Bigelow [H. U. 1854], who was then a law student in the office of Hon. Charles Allen. A more complete copy was subsequently made by Mr. Franklin P. Rice, a local antiquary, and was published by the Worcester Society of Antiquity in 1881, with an introduction and valuable notes by Mr. Rice.

²See also the interesting communications from Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS in this number of the Proceedings of our Society.

The last Judge John Chandler had seventeen children, of whom four were by his first wife Dorothy Paine, and thirteen by his second wife Mary Church. Mr. J. Pease Dabney (in the *Christian Examiner*, July, 1847,) said of him:

"The Hon. John Chandler of Worcester, whose sons and daughters were as numerous as those of his Royal Master,—and with whose family every other leading family of the region was proud to entwine itself by marriage alliance,—sleeps far from the town and shire of whose honors he had almost the monopoly."

452.5.10

LAND TITLES OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

ERRATUM.

BY CHARLES A. CHASE.

In tracing back the title of the Society to its original holdings, for a paper read at the meeting on April 24, 1901, I was misled by a local historian, and made Thomas Palmer the grantor to John Chandler, jr. of the Summer street lot. Messrs. Palmer, Oulton and Waldo were the owners of very large tracts in Worcester, but they did not own this. The land which Palmer sold to Chandler was a little to the south of it.

The large farm of Daniel Henschman's heirs was on both sides of Lincoln street, and in tracing subsequently the history of this farm, I found that a part of it, including the first Antiquarian lot, went to John Chandler jr.

My account of the Henschman farm appears in the proceedings of the Worcester Society of Antiquity for December 1902, and gives the story of Henschman and of the partition of his estate among his heirs. I will not recapitulate here.

The Proprietors of Worcester granted to the heirs of Daniel Henschman 104 acres of land on the east side of Millbrook, Oct. 17, 1718, as on page 75 of Proprietors' Records.

Susannah Harris, daughter of pioneer Henschman, conveyed to Rev. Isaac Burr two-sevenths of six hundred acres; (Jan. 20, 1725-6, Book 26-Page 386, Middlesex.) and on a partition among the several owners, (see Book 21, Page 350-355, and Book 46, Pages 298-302 etc; also a Resolve of the General Court confirming the division: all in the Worcester Registry,) the south part was allotted to Burr. Burr sold to Thomas Stearns, May 11, 1731 B2. P. 419. Thomas Stearns sold forty acres including our Summer street lot, to John Chandler jr. Dec. 12, 1733; B. 4. P. 543.

From this point the title passes as given in my former paper. John Chandler by will to his sons, John (the "honest refugee") and Gardiner, and so on as before stated.



FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH,

Summer Street.

Rev. Aaron Bancroft, a native of Reading, had supplied the pulpit of the parish church of the town for several Sundays in the autumn of 1783, and again a year later, and was engaged temporarily to preach in January, 1785. At a parish or town meeting in March of that year, a motion was made to settle him permanently over the parish, but it was defeated because of his Arminian views. A large majority, including the most prominent members, withdrew and formed a new society with Mr. Bancroft as their minister. After a very strong opposition an Act of the Legislature was secured in November, 1787, giving them a separate existence and organization, and the society has since been legally known as Worcester Second Parish.¹ For about five years services were held in the Court House. In the summer of 1791 a church building was begun upon land bought of Charles and Samuel Chandler, part of "the down town farm" before described. These gentlemen conveyed the lot to the Parish on June 16, 1791, for the nominal consideration of five shillings, and the first services were held in the church on Jan. 1, 1792. In 1828 the society built a new and more commodious church on land bought of Isaiah Thomas, a few rods south of our present hall, and sold the old building, which was at once converted into a tavern, to Samuel Damon.² There was some dispute about the boundary between the Society's land and the church lot, and Mr. Damon gave a deed of

¹ Sixty-three gentlemen were included in the Act of Incorporation. Among them were Levi Lincoln [Senior], Timothy Paine, Joseph Allen, Thaddeus Maccarty [M. D.], Samuel Chandler, Abraham Lincoln, Timothy Bigelow, Clark Chandler, Samuel Allen, Edward Bangs, Nathaniel Paine, Isaiah Thomas, Charles Chandler, David Clap, William Jennison and Benjamin Butman.

The reader is referred to the interesting and exhaustive paper, "Gleanings from the Sources of the History of the Second Parish, Worcester, Massachusetts," by SAMUEL S. GREEN, printed in Vol. II. new series of Proceedings of this Society, pp. 301 *et seq.*

² The tavern was maintained for several years. The estate was conveyed to the inhabitants of Worcester on May 8, 1846 [B. 419, P. 437], and the building, originally a church, was changed again to a school-house. It was used for the latter purpose some forty years. In March, 1892, the property was sold by the city [B. 1374, P. 469], and passed from public use.

quitclaim, which led the Council, on Nov. 28, 1832, to pass the following vote:—

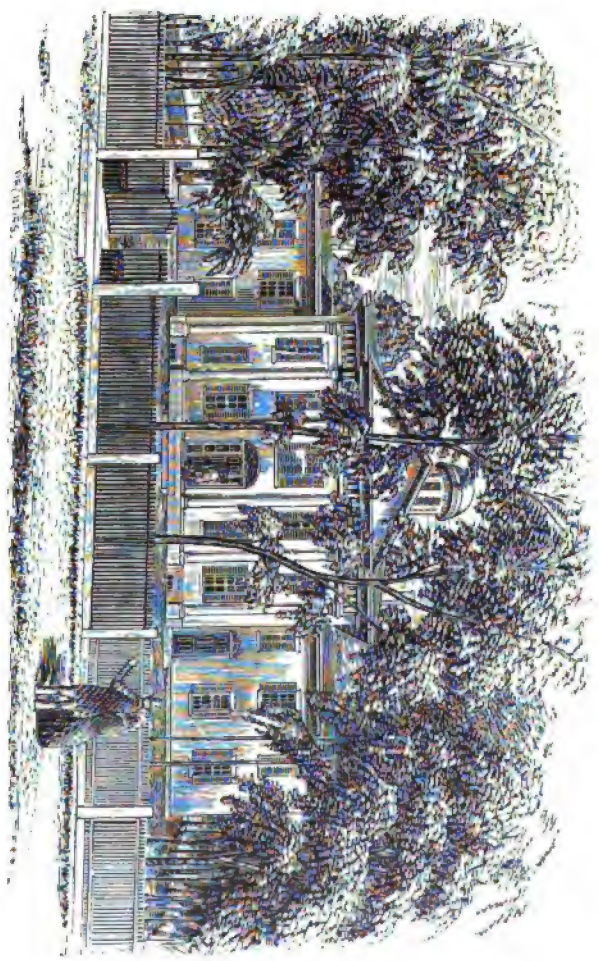
"That Col. Samuel Damon of Holden, in consideration of his conveying to the Society all his right and title to any land now included within the wall of the yard of Antiquarian Hall, shall, with his immediate family, have the privilege of visiting Antiquarian Hall at all hours when the Hall is kept open for visitors."

Charles and Samuel Chandler owned other real estate in common, and at the former's death in 1798 a partition took place, the "down town farm" going to Samuel, while Sarah, the minor daughter of Charles, became the owner of a larger estate lying southwesterly of the village. After Samuel's death, or on May 9, 1814, his executors, Aaron Bancroft and Benjamin Smith, conveyed the greater part of the down-town farm to Francis Blake [April 27, 1814; Book 192, Page 231]; and on May 9 following sold to Isaiah Thomas, father of the American Antiquarian Society, one-half acre lying just north of the church.

Here was to be our first permanent home.

The first meeting of the Society, for organization, was held at the Exchange Coffee House in Boston, on November 11, 1812.¹ The Worcester meeting in September, 1813, was held at the dwelling-house of Col. Reuben Sikes, innholder; in the following September, at the same place, then called the Worcester Coffee House; in July, 1815, and June, 1816, at the Library room, that is, in Mr. Thomas's spacious mansion. On June 26, 1817, "that part of the ways and means committee residing in Worcester made a report that it is expedient that a subscription be opened to procure a sum in order to enable the Society to build a suitable edifice for the Library and Cabinet; and to elect a proper person to apply to the members in the United States for the purpose; and that the person be furnished with \$500 to enable him to proceed in the mission."

¹ See a paper on The Boston Meetings of the American Antiquarian Society: by Charles A. Chase. Vol. XIII., New Series Proceedings, page 31.



ANTIQUARIAN HALL.—Summer Street.

On Aug. 15, 1819, it was "Voted that at the request of the President a committee be appointed to superintend the building now erecting by him for the use of the Society.

"Levi Lincoln, Nathaniel Maccarty and Rejoice Newton chosen."

On Oct. 23, 1819, at Foster's Hotel in Boston, a committee, appointed to investigate and report on the general progress and state of the Society, made a long report, in which they say:—

Within the last year our venerable and enterprising President,¹ in praise of whose munificence too much cannot be said, has erected at great expense a handsome, commodious and substantial building for the use and benefit of the Society; and it will probably be ready for the reception of the library and cabinet at some time during the next season. It is sufficiently large to answer all the purposes of the Society for many years, and is so constructed that whenever more room shall be wanted additions may be made without disfiguring but would rather increase the elegance of the edifice.

This building, which was of brick with a classic front, was formally opened on Aug. 24, 1820, "with public services in the Rev. Doctor Bancroft's Meeting House" on the neighboring lot. A formal address was delivered by Isaac Goodwin, Esq. Mr. Goodwin, who is most widely known as author of "Goodwin's Town Officer" [Worcester, 1825,] and "The New England Sheriff" [Worcester, 1830,] a native of Plymouth, was at this time a resident of Sterling, from which place he removed to Worcester in 1826. In his address, which was published by the Society, he dwelt upon the importance of preserving the annals of the human race, and congratulated the citizens of the county upon the event of the day.

¹ Mr. Thomas was then in the 71st year of his age. For the latest contribution to the Isaiah Thomas literature see an article by our associate, Benjamin Thomas Hill, in "The Worcester Magazine" for July, 1901. Published by the Board of Trade, Worcester, Mass.

Hardly ten years passed before the "commodious" building proved to be too small for its purpose. For at the semi-annual meeting on June 30, 1831, a committee appointed by the Sub-Council reported, recommending "the erection of two wings as soon as may be convenient; each wing to be 25 feet long and 20 deep, two stories high and covered with slate or zinc. One of the wings to have the floors covered with stone or brick, and to connect with the main building by means of an iron door. The expense will not exceed, we think, \$1,200."

While the Society had enjoyed the full use of the building as their own, no deed had ever passed from Mr. Thomas. At his death, which occurred April 4, 1831, his will, which was very voluminous, gave the Society a bequest of \$30,000, followed by this clause:—

I give to said Society, (provided I shall not before my death execute a deed thereof,) and their successors forever, that tract of land in Worcester whereon is now erected a building for the use of said Society, which land I purchased of Samuel Chandler's heirs, containing about one acre near the Second Parish, with the said building thereon; which building is to be forever sacredly appropriated as long as said Society shall exist, for the library, cabinet, &c. of said Society; and the house and building are accordingly devised upon this express condition. And in case said Society shall at any time cease to use said building for said purpose, then the whole of this estate is to revert to my grandchildren generally and their heirs.

Mr. Thomas, in his will, further declared that he valued this real estate at \$8,000. He left to the Society \$10,000 in books from his private collection, and \$12,000 in money to make up the whole legacy of \$30,000.

After thirty years the Library building, with its wings, was all too small for its purpose; and at the annual meeting, October 23, 1850, it was "Voted that a committee be appointed to consider that part of the report of the Council which relates to repairs and alterations of the Library

building and to the erection of a new building on some other site; and the said committee, if they shall deem it expedient may, with the concurrence of the Council, purchase a suitable lot for the purpose last mentioned." Hon. Charles Allen, Hon. Isaac Davis and Hon. Stephen Salisbury were appointed as the committee.

At a meeting of the Council, on December 26, 1850, the Hon. ISAAC DAVIS, from the Committee appointed at the annual meeting of the Society "to consider that part of the Report submitted by the Council which relates to repairs and alterations of the Library buildings, and to the erection of a new building on some other site," made an informal report.

"In the absence of the Chairman, Hon. Charles Allen, it was stated that the Committee had examined several lots, and had obtained their prices, viz:—a lot on Park Street owned by Mr. Adolphus Morse, the price of which was \$5,500, a lot on Front Street owned by Hon. Abijah Bigelow, the price of which was \$4,500, a lot on Main Street known as the 'Dix Place,' owned by Mr. Henry Goulding, the price of which was \$10,000, and a lot next north of the old Court House, on Main Street, owned by Hon. Stephen Salisbury, which Mr. Salisbury proposed to convey gratuitously to the Society, provided the Society was satisfied that the location was favorable for their purposes.

"The Committee and the Council having concurred in the opinion that the lot last mentioned possessed very decided advantages for the location of the Library building, and under all circumstances regarding both convenience and safety, was the most favorable for that purpose—and that the liberal proposition of Mr. Salisbury should be thankfully accepted, it was

"*Voted*, That a committee should be appointed to procure plans and specifications for a suitable edifice to be erected on the land proposed to be conveyed by Mr. Salisbury.

"*Voted*, That Hon. Isaac Davis, Hon. Stephen Salisbury, Hon. Alfred D. Foster, constitute said committee."

At the next meeting of the Council, on motion of Hon. EMORY WASHBURN, it was

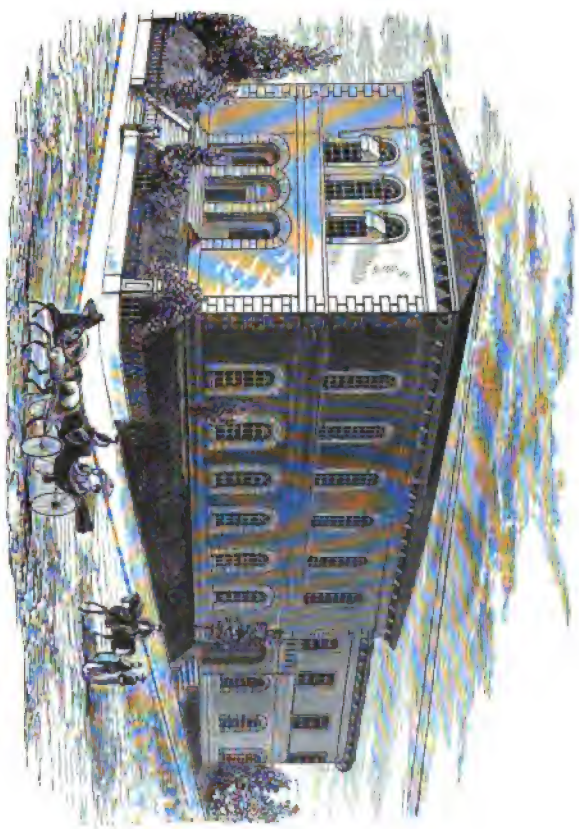
Voted, That upon the representation of a member of the committee appointed by the Society to act upon the subject of purchasing a lot for the erection of a new Library building, that the Hon. Stephen Salisbury is willing to execute a deed of a lot near the Court House for that purpose, the Council hereby concur in the selection of said lot, if the committee shall see fit to procure the same, and recommend to said committee that they accept a deed thereof, as being in the judgment of the Council a suitable lot for the erection of such a building.

Voted, That the committee appointed at the last meeting to procure plans for a suitable edifice to be erected on the land proposed to be conveyed by Mr. Salisbury, be directed to procure plans with reference to a building, not to exceed ten thousand dollars, exclusive of the expense of preparing the site for the building.

At the semi-annual meeting, April 30, 1851, it was voted : "That the thanks of the Society be presented to Hon. Stephen Salisbury, for his munificent donation of a valuable lot for a new library building." And it was further voted : "That the whole subject of erecting a new library building, and the disposal of the old building and land, be submitted to the discretion of the Council, with full power to sell the old building and land, and erect a new one as they may think proper."

On February 25, 1852, it was

Voted, That the Council of the American Antiquarian Society have a grateful sense of the kindness, liberality and public spirit shown by the Hon. Stephen Salisbury, as well in the gift of a valuable site for the new Hall as in the generous offer of the sum of five thousand dollars to aid in its construction; that accepting in behalf of the Society the offer so made, they readily consent to the use of the lower room for a library for the period indicated in his communication of January 21st. by such persons, and under such regulations as upon a conference with Mr. Salisbury may be thought consistent with the convenience of the Society and the safety of its collections.



ANTIQUARIAN HALL.—Main Street.

On April 30, 1851, the Society had given the Council full power to sell the old building and erect a new one. The following minute is from the record of a Council meeting held on July 1, 1854:—

Pursuant to votes of the Society authorizing the sale of the Society's estate on the east side of Summer street, in Worcester, formerly occupied by the Society, and upon the proposition of the Hon. Isaac Davis in behalf of the Trustees of the Worcester Academy to purchase the same:

Voted, That the same be sold to said Trustees for the sum of nine thousand dollars, and that the west line be defined in such manner and by such courses, as to include within the boundaries the quantity of twenty-seven thousand feet of land, with a free and unobstructed right of passage to the grantees and their assigns from every part of the said west line, so to be defined over the remaining land of the Society which will lay between the said line and the east line of Summer street, as established by the County Commissioners, and upon the terms of payment of 1,000 dollars on the delivery of the deed, and the security of a mortgage on the estate for the payment of 4,000 dollars in one year, and 4,000 dollars in two years with interest semi-annually; and that the deed of conveyance be executed pursuant to the vote of the Society at the meeting held this day.

We will follow the title of the Summer street lot until it left our hands. Mr. Thomas's will had provided that if at any time it should cease to be occupied for the uses of the Society it should revert to his grandchildren. The Society, therefore, could not sell it without first obtaining an absolute title. I find no additional vote or authority in the matter, but it is evident that measures had been taken to secure a full title before the vote was passed to sell, for I find upon record quitclaim deeds from the heirs of Mr. Thomas, of "all our right, title, claim and demand in and unto a certain tract of land with the building thereon on Summer street in said Worcester, now occupied by said Society for their library and cabinet." The consideration in each deed was \$1; and the grantors may be

supposed to include all the grandchildren or their representatives.

Samuel Damon, who had become the owner of the church lot, had deeded to the Society a triangular piece of three square rods adjoining our southeast corner, as above stated. At a special meeting of the Society on July 1, 1854, it was

Voted, that the Hon. Stephen Salisbury, Vice President of the Society, be authorized and empowered to convey the estate on the east side of Summer street in Worcester, formerly occupied by the Society to such person or corporation and upon such terms and conditions as the Council shall prescribe.

On July 4, 1854, the Society deeded to Worcester Academy the Summer Street lot for \$9,000.

It is worthy of notice here that the two sites which the Society has occupied are in what was the business centre of the village of Worcester. There were the Court House, the Jail, and the first school-house. There were the dwelling-house and the blacksmith shop of Col. Timothy Bigelow, who led the minute-men from the town on the 19th of April, 1775, and who did valiant service through the Revolution. There was the first apothecary shop in the county, established in 1731 by Dr. William Paine and afterwards sold to Dr. Abraham Lincoln, brother of the first Levi Lincoln and son-in-law of Col. Bigelow. There, after 1771, on land bought of John Hancock,¹ was the colonial mansion, still standing, of the first Stephen Salisbury. The little school-house, 24 feet long, 16 feet wide and 7 feet stud, "completely finished with a good chimney, *glase* and that," was built under a vote of the town passed on June 21, 1738. It stood nearly in front of our present building, on land which is now a part of the public highway. In this building a young man, freshly

¹John Hancock to Stephen Salisbury. 150 acres set off to Joseph and Daniel Waldo as part of their father Cornelius's estate. Nov. 5, 1771. Book 66, page 183 in Worcester Registry.

graduated from Harvard College, taught Latin and the higher branches of English from 1755 to 1758. For a profession he had at first inclined to the ministry; but after a year he decided upon the law, and took up its study under the direction of James Putnam, who is characterized by Willard as "the seventh in point of time but perhaps the first in distinction" [*i. e.*, of the members of the Worcester Bar.]¹ This young teacher and student became the second president of the United States. The first entry in his published Diary describes the circumstances which brought him to Worcester, and the entries for the three years following give a very graphic description of the society of the town and its intellectual activity.

Westerly from, and facing "the down town farm" of Col. Chandler was the large estate of William Jennison, who came to Worcester soon after the final settlement of the town. His brother Samuel, who came with him, was the ancestor of the Samuel Jennison who was Librarian and Treasurer of this Society.

William Jennison gave to the town the lot on which they had built the first school-house, with twenty feet around it, on Nov. 27, 1738.² He had previously given to the County of Worcester³ a lot just south of our present lot, on which a Court House of wood, 36 feet long, 26 feet wide, with 13 feet posts, was built and was first occupied by the courts on Feb. 8, 1734, when the Chief Justice, John Chandler of Woodstock, grandfather of "the honest refugee" of whom I have spoken, delivered a congratulatory address.

After the death (in 1744) of William Jennison, his daughter Abigail Baldwin with her husband William conveyed one quarter of the Jennison estate to Luke Brown,

¹ Address to the Members of the Bar of Worcester County, Massachusetts, Oct. 2, 1829, by Joseph Willard. p. 58.

² Book 10, p. 362, Worcester Registry.

³ Feb. 1, 1731-2; Book 3, p. 57.

son-in-law of William Jennison, and landlord of the "Hancock Arms." A part of this tract, including part of the present site of Antiquarian Hall, was sold to Isaiah Thomas by Luke Brown's executor; and a tract of about nine acres, lying north and in the rear of the Thomas purchase, was sold by Luke Brown's son Luke to Samuel and Stephen Salisbury. Samuel Salisbury conveyed the tract to Stephen, Oct. 22, 1812, and it was inherited by the latter's son Stephen, our grantor and benefactor.

Mr. Thomas sold to Clark Whittemore a lot north of the Court House and on the west side of Main street, 100 feet deep, about 32 feet in front and about 36 feet in the rear. Whittemore sold to Stephen Salisbury, March 22, 1833. A new road leading westerly had been laid out a year or two before, leaving a strip of land between the road and the Whittemore lot, and when Mr. Salisbury conveyed to the Society he gave a lot bounding northerly on Highland street 121 feet and 7 inches, easterly on Main street 70 feet and 8 inches, southerly on a line 24 feet from the stone underpinning of the Brick Court House 118 feet and 3 inches, and westerly by a line running N. 23½° E. 51 feet and 8 inches. This deed was given "in consideration of my desire to aid in increasing the efficiency of a useful Society, and in consideration of one dollar to me paid by the American Antiquarian Society." It was accompanied by a gift of \$5,000 in money.

On the Jennison land, just south of the court house, Mr. Thomas built a stately dwelling-house. A building containing his printing office and book store was near by. On June 26, 1843, Daniel Waldo conveyed the house lot, 192 feet on the street and about 200 feet deep to the County of Worcester by a deed of quitclaim;¹ and on Aug. 10, Rejoice Newton and Rebecca Newton quitclaimed the same property to the County.² The mansion house

¹ B. 280, p. 472. ² *Ibid.*, p. 461.

was removed to the rear, where it still may be seen, unchanged in outward appearance except some alteration of the south wing.

We have seen that Mr. Salisbury's deed to the Society left an open space of twenty-four feet north of the old Court House. It was evidently understood with the County Commissioners that this space should be forever kept open. The county having become owner of land in rear of the Hall, conveyed to the Society, July 20, 1867,¹ a lot 50 feet wide on Highland street, the south line being an extension of a line running parallel with and 12 feet from the south side of the Hall, excepting and reserving to the grantors a right to a passage way along the entire south and west lines of the tract above described and a right to have said 12 feet forever open and granting to said Society a right of passage way.

The old Court House, the third in point of time, built in 1802, and enlarged in 1857, and the elegant, classic stone Court House, built upon the Thomas estate in 1845 and enlarged in 1878, in time came to be considered too small for the convenience of the Courts and public offices. About the year 1895 the County Commissioners were persuaded to undertake the work of enlarging or rebuilding, and an Act of the Legislature was secured² authorizing them to make such addition, and by section 5 "to take and hold by purchase or otherwise such land, rights of way and easements as they may deem necessary," *etc.*

The plans finally adopted by the Commissioners provided for an extension of the stone Court House northerly, to cover the land occupied by the brick Court House as well as the intervening land, and even to encroach upon the land or easements of the Antiquarian Society. So a supplementary bill was passed by the Legislature in the next year,³ authorizing the Commissioners "to sell, tear down

¹ B. 740, p. 365.

² Acts of 1896, chapter 350. ³ *Ibid.*, 1897, chapter 449.

or remove the brick Court House * * * and to erect on said land or on any part of the adjoining land a building which shall provide additional accommodations for the several courts in said county sitting at Worcester, and for the county offices and papers," etc.

In the development and accomplishment of the plans of the County Commissioners they built much wider "than they knew"; for they encroached not only upon our easements but also upon our territory. But the new bounds have now been established by a plan and deeds of record, and it is hoped that it may be long before the Society shall again be disturbed in its real estate or its privileges and appurtenances.

County of Worcester to American Antiquarian Society.

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS that the County of Worcester, a body politic and corporate, within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in consideration of One Dollar and other valuable considerations to it paid by the American Antiquarian Society, a Corporation duly established and exercising its franchise in the City and County of Worcester, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, doth hereby remise, release and forever quitclaim unto said American Antiquarian Society all its right, title and interest, if any, which the County Commissioners may be authorized and empowered by its agent to convey, to that parcel of land situated in said City of Worcester, lying northerly and easterly of the following described lines, and extending to the southerly and westerly walls of said Society's building. Said lines are located as follows:

Beginning at a point on the southerly line of Highland street, which said point is one hundred and seventy-eight and ninety-six hundredths (178.96) feet easterly, measured on said southerly line of Highland street as now located from the lot line dividing land of Stephen Salisbury from land of G. Henry Whitcomb. Said point is also further defined by being directly opposite to a hole drilled in the top of a stone bound sunk into the sidewalk two feet N. 13° 40' E. from said point; thence from said point running S. 13° 40' W. said course being at a right angle to said line of Highland street, a distance of thirty-one and fifty-seven one hundredths (31.57) feet, to the center¹ of the upper end of an

¹ *Sec.*

iron rod driven into the ground at an angle in said line; thence S. 17° 2' E. thirteen and seventy-three one hundredths (18.73) feet to the center of the upper end of an iron rod driven into the ground at an angle in said line; thence S. 57° 19' E. twenty-two and five tenths (22.5) — ^ to the center of the upper end of an iron rod driven into the ground at an angle; thence S. 68° 12' E. one hundred and twenty-nine (129) feet to the center of a hole drilled in the top of a stone bound set into the ground; thence easterly in the same straight line about five (5) feet, passing through the center of the large granite fence post to the westerly line of Main street; said land lying northerly and easterly of said line to remain unobstructed by any building or additions to the present Antiquarian building, or any fences or structure except as at present existing, together with the right in said Society of access to the bulk head of its building over the adjoining land of said County. Said lines are further illustrated by a plan made by Civil Engineers, Buttrick & Pratt, dated September, 1900, and to be entered for record with this deed.

TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the granted premises, to the said American Antiquarian Society and its successors and assigns, to its and their use and behoof forever.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF on this 28th day of February, 1901, said County of Worcester has caused its corporate seal to be hereto affixed, and these presents to be signed and sealed in its name and behalf, by its agent, William T. Harlow, appointed by an order dated the 26th day of February, 1901, passed by the County Commissioners for said County, and duly entered on their records.

THE COUNTY OF WORCESTER [SEAL]

By William T. Harlow, Agent.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Worcester, ss. March 29th, 1901. Then personally appeared the above named William T. Harlow and acknowledged the foregoing instrument to be the free act and deed of the County of Worcester, and his own free act and deed as agent, before me,

T. S. Johnson, Justice of the Peace.

Rec'd March 29, 1901, at 4h. 17m. P. M. Ent'd & Ex'd.

Attest:

Dan'l Kent

Register.

Worcester, ss. A true copy of Record, recorded with Worcester District Deeds, Book 1680, Page 574.

Attest:

(Sgd.) Dan'l Kent

Register.

American Antiquarian Society to County of Worcester.

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS that the AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, a Corporation existing and located in the City and County of Worcester and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in consideration of One Dollar paid, and certain acts and things done, by the County of Worcester, a body politic and corporate in and of said Commonwealth, doth remise, release and forever quitclaim unto said COUNTY OF WORCESTER all the right, title and interest of said American Antiquarian Society in and unto that portion of the land of said Society which is covered by the building, foundations and projections of the Court House recently erected by the County Commissioners of said County of Worcester upon said County's real estate, on the westerly side of Main street in said City of Worcester, which building, foundations and projections were by inadvertence and mistake extended upon and over said land of said American Antiquarian Society lying outside and adjoining on the north the land of said County described in the description of its taking, dated September 8, 1896, and recorded with Worcester District Deeds, Vol. 1520, Page 1.

TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the granted premises with the privileges and appurtenances there belonging, to said County of Worcester, its successors and assigns, to its and their own use and behoof forever.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the said American Antiquarian Society, by Stephen Salisbury, its President and Nathaniel Paine, its Treasurer thereto duly authorized, doth set its hand and seal this 28th day of February, in the year 1901.

THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY [SEAL]

By Stephen Salisbury, President
Nath'l Paine, Treasurer.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Worcester, ss. March 29th, 1901. Then personally appeared the above named Stephen Salisbury in behalf of said American Antiquarian Society, and acknowledged the foregoing instrument to be the free act and deed of said Society, before me,

T. S. Johnson, Justice of the Peace.

Rec'd March 29, 1901, at 4h. 31m. P. M. Ent'd & Ex'd.

Attest:

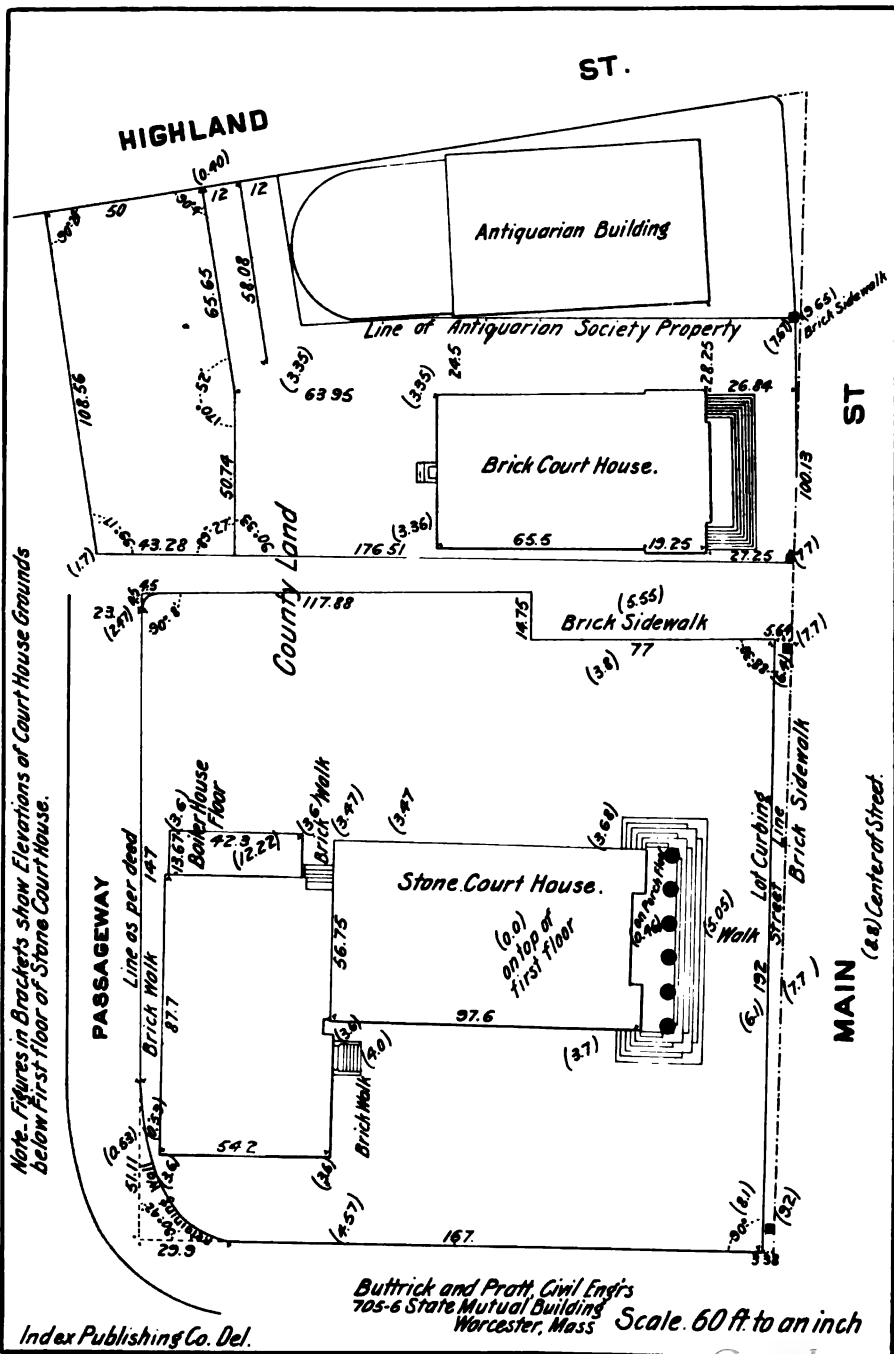
Dan'l Kent,
Register.

Worcester, ss. A true copy of Record, recorded with Worcester District Deeds, Book 1680, Page 576.

Attest:

(Sgd.) Dan'l Kent
Register.

PLAN OF LANDS OF COUNTY OF WORCESTER AND AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY
ON COURT HILL, WORCESTER, MASS., PRIOR TO SEPTEMBER 8, 1896.



2

**PLAN SHOWING
ADJUSTMENT OF LOT
LINES between Land
of AMERICAN ANTIQUA-
-RIAN SOCIETY and
THE WORCESTER
COUNTY COURT HOUSE
GROUNDS**

September 1900.

*Buttrick & Pratt
Civil Engineers
Rooms 705-706
State Mutual Building
Worcester, Mass.*

County Land



*Note Courses are by
Magnetic Meridian.*

STONE MONUMENT

MAIN

Index Publishing Co. Del.

County Land

IRON ROD

31.57 IRON FENCE

STONE MONUMENT

ST.

HIGHLAND

*Land of American
Antiquarian
Society.*

N. 76° 20' W.

ST.

IRON ROD

IRON ROD

129°
37.21.89 S

13.73
S. 17° 22' E.
81.99

139.43
S. 57° 15' E.
22.5

169.07
S. 69° 15' E.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

THE recent publication by the Society of the Diary of Librarian Christopher C. Baldwin should find grateful mention in the report of a successor. Perhaps no one living can better appreciate the great service he rendered or the value of the lessons taught in these notes of a young librarian of the olden time. Like George B. Emerson's "Reminiscences of an Old Teacher," they impress one by their wisdom and genuineness. The reports of your present librarian have contained from time to time extracts therefrom. While they have related to the various subjects under consideration, a secondary purpose has been so to indicate their excellence that the Diary might be thought worthy to appear as a volume of our *Archæologia Americana*. Its lessons in library economy, taught and practised so many years ago, may well be pondered by the librarian and the library school student of today. For while times change and methods of library administration change with them, the spirit which pervades this private journal is as important for the early twentieth-century librarian as it was for the librarian of the early nineteenth. We are often reminded that not only this Society, but the country at large, has been abundantly blessed by the labors of such librarians as our Jennison and Lincoln and Baldwin and Haven.

The following entry in the Records of the Council appears on November 25, 1831: Voted "To choose a committee to select from the books bequeathed by Mr. Thomas such volumes as they may think proper to preserve for the use of the Society. William Lincoln and Isaac Goodwin chosen." We may well believe that this

strong committee exercised its weeding power with judgment and discretion. What disposition was made of this material was not made a matter of record and is not likely to appear after the lapse of nearly three-score and ten years.

At a meeting of the Council on October 2, 1900, it was voted: "That the Librarian be authorized to select from the Society's collection of Bibles such copy as he may approve, said copy to be loaned for use in the Rufus Putnam House at Rutland, Massachusetts." The seventeenth-century Bible selected contains the above-mentioned vote, the Society's book-plate and its embossed stamp. The transfer of the volume was made on October 15, 1900, through our associate, Hon. Elijah B. Stoddard.

In the Baldwin Diary, under date of June 16, 1834, will be found a reference to an early venture of John Howard Payne, the author of "Home, Sweet Home." Among the papers received from our late associate, Samuel Jennison, is the prospectus of another, twenty-four years earlier, of which I find no mention. It again emphasizes the importance of preserving a record of the beginnings or even the efforts to begin. The appeal follows:—

1810.

PROSPECTUS
OF THE
LITERARY EXCHANGE.

SHOULD adequate encouragement offer, the subscriber proposes to establish a READING ROOM in this city, to be entitled,

The Literary Exchange;

Which is intended for a general depository of Newspapers, Magazines, and Pamphlets, both political, literary, and scientific.

This room¹ will be situated in some central part of the town, and great pains will be taken to make it an attractive rendezvous for the merchant, as well as the man of letters.

Every Newspaper and Magazine published in New-York, Charleston, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Boston, and such similar works of any note as are printed elsewhere, will be taken at the LITERARY EXCHANGE. To these will be added, the principal European Miscellanies; and all Pamphlets, either foreign or domestick, which may excite attention.

At present it is not possible to state the particular conveniences which may be added to this establishment, when it is once founded. In the beginning it certainly cannot exhibit the vigour of maturity; and in the early stages of its existence, we can only hope that it may become useful. One thing, however, is certain: an institution of the kind, skilfully conducted, may furnish citizens with the best and cheapest means of acquiring a competent knowledge of the topics of the day; and of gratifying strangers who visit this city from abroad, with the earliest intelligence from their respective dwelling places.

Such as are conversant with these matters can imagine how much superior to anything of the kind that now exists here, it is possible to make a Reading Room on the plan of the LITERARY EXCHANGE. There are many that cannot attend the Coffee-Houses, and if they can, the clamour and confusion of business must prevent them from comprehending what they read. A *literary* rendezvous is much to be desired; and if the citizens of New-York will support him, the subscriber pledges himself to do all he can to establish one. He is prepared to obviate whatever objections may occur. An establishment of the same nature, though infinitely more extensive, has risen in a neighbouring city, notwithstanding a very strong opposition. FORTY THOUSAND DOLLARS were collected in less than three weeks for the BOSTON ATHENEUM. And will not the citizens of New-York subscribe a portion of that sum in support of a similar institution?

The subscriber wishes to make his LITERARY EXCHANGE the introduction to a scheme, which, if properly encour-

¹ An elegant room in front of the City-Hotel, will be appropriated for this purpose until May.

aged, may eventually enable him to abandon his present precarious profession for a more substantial one.

In the commencement of his enterprize, the subscriber will make no promises. The success and extent of his establishment will depend upon the patronage of others, and he can only hope that it will be sufficient to enable him to give general satisfaction.

JOHN HOWARD PAYNE.

THE TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION

Will be Ten Dollars a year, which, to save the great trouble and expense of collecting, is requested in advance.

Each subscriber will be entitled to have free access to the Literary Exchange (which will be kept in the best order) from nine in the morning until ten at night. Subscribers will have the privilege of admitting a friend, provided that friend be a stranger, and has not resided in the city more than three months.

Any Pamphlet, Newspaper, or Magazine, that a subscriber may desire, shall be promptly procured, and deposited in the Exchange.

NEW-YORK, DECEMBER 20, 1810.

SUBSCRIBERS' NAMES.

TIME OF PAYMENT
IN ADVANCE.

The following statistics for six months ending the 15th instant appear in the book of accessions. Number of givers three hundred and ten, namely, thirty-nine members, one hundred and twenty-five persons not members, and one hundred and forty-six societies and institutions. From these sources we have received seven hundred books, sixty-five hundred and thirty-four pamphlets, seventeen bound and one hundred and forty-five volumes of unbound newspapers, sixty-six manuscripts, three framed and forty-six unframed photographs, twelve maps, nine broadsides, five medals, four stereotype plates, four engravings, three specimens of colonial and continental currency and ten

articles for the Cabinet. By exchange, twenty-nine books and six pamphlets, and from the bindery forty-nine volumes of newspapers and twenty-one of magazines; making a total of seven hundred and twenty-nine books, sixty-five hundred and forty pamphlets, sixty-six bound and one hundred and forty-five unbound volumes of newspapers, *etc.*

Mr. Andrew McF. Davis on October 9, 1900, writes:—"The enclosed programmes represent a phase of life during the war. I thought I had deposited them with you, but to my surprise came across them to-day. I now perform what I find that I have heretofore neglected and send them to Worcester." Whether these amateur performances of 1861-1863 were given by "The Lawyers' and Spinsters' Dramatic Club" or otherwise, they were for the benefit of the Soldiers' Relief Fund, the United States Sanitary Commission, or the Worcester Soldiers' Relief Society. The dramatic notes attached—which are generally signed W. S. B.—were doubtless written by an associate recently deceased. The collection will be placed in alcove N, which contains the miscellaneous literature of the War of 1861-1865.

The enrichment of the department of local history by our associates, the Hon. Samuel A. Green and the Hon. Henry S. Nourse, is continuous, and this exceptional service rendered to their native towns is noteworthy. Groton and Lancaster are indeed rich in material prepared for the press by these painstaking historians.

The roll of givers and gifts again connects the name of the Duc de Loubat with important Spanish-American material which probably would not have been printed without his coöperation.

President G. Stanley Hall has placed upon our shelves "Clark University, 1889-1899. Decennial Celebration," containing his decennial address. This royal quarto volume with its modest title-page is in every way worthy of

the great institution it represents. It is significant that of the nine trustees named in the act of incorporation all but the founder, Mr. Jonas G. Clark, and his relative, Mr. George Swan, were honored members of this Society: namely, Stephen Salisbury, Charles Devens, George F. Hoar, William W. Rice, Joseph Sargent, John D. Washburn, and Frank P. Goulding. Upon the death of General Devens, our associate Dr. Thomas H. Gage was elected in his place. Dr. Hall has been a member of this Society since 1888 and of its Council since 1891.

President Salisbury's gift includes books for the Davis Spanish-American and the Thomas Local History departments, and he has also added to the general library the ten-volume edition of the "Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1898."

Treasurer Paine has sent with his usual semi-annual contribution an extended copy of the Baldwin Diary. It is in two volumes, which contain a large number of illustrations, chiefly photographs of persons and places. We have received from the same source a large, framed photograph of Mr. Baldwin's birthplace, which has been hung in the office near his portrait.

The timely gift of Mr. Benjamin Franklin Stevens was accompanied by the following explanatory letter:

4 Trafalgar Square,
LONDON, W. C., 6th April, 1901.

The American Antiquarian Society,
Worcester, Mass.
United States of America.

Dear Mr. President:

Acting upon a hint from Mr. McFarland Davis that particulars of the claims of John Chandler, Loyalist, would be acceptable to the Society, I have had transcripts and extracts made from the original documents in the Public Record Office, and I beg the Society will pay me the compliment to accept the volume which is sent by the steamer taking this letter.

My New York correspondent is requested to forward the package without unnecessary delay.

The transcripts, extracts, and endorsements written in black or red ink, have been carefully made to follow the spelling, abbreviations and peculiarities of writing of their respective originals.

My own explanatory notes or additional words are written in blue ink.

Hoping the book will reach you in good time for the meeting of the 24th inst., I am always

Yours sincerely,

B. F. STEVENS.

The full title of this perfect work of three hundred and fifty-four folio pages of manuscript will be found in the list of givers and gifts. It is sumptuously bound, and modestly backed "John Chandler American Loyalist," with the date of its preparation, 1901.

Mr. Stevens also forwards Mr. Charles Archibald Mitchell's report on "Camphor in Japan and Formosa" with the following statement: "A Company of which I am one of the Directors has privately printed this Report for private circulation. The Directors have allowed me to send two copies of this book to America, one to your Library and the other to the New York Public Library. It is curious in its paper, printing and binding, and is interesting in its subject matter. I shall be glad if you will let it come on to your table for your personal observation and I beg you will accept it as a contribution to your Library."

Our associate Mr. Henry P. Upham has practically completed his wise gift of "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents." We must agree with *The Nation* which in a recent issue says: "Rarely has a set of historical documents covering so wide an extent of territory and so long a stretch of time been brought out with such rapidity, with such clear signs of editorial care, and in such handsome form." The text of this monumental work is in seventy-one volumes, and it is understood that the index will require two more.

The following letter is from the Hon. Julius L. Clarke, who in his early days as an editor was associated with

Elihu Burritt, and later became a trusted officer of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts :

NEWTON UPPER FALLS,
277 Eliot St.
Sept. 22, 1900.

Mr. SALISBURY.

My Dear Sir:—

I hope I shall not be intrusive in addressing this letter to you, but I could recall no one else whom I thought might be interested in or connected with the American Antiquarian Society.

I was editor and publisher of the first daily paper printed in Worcester County, commencing some time before the *Daily Spy*. I refer to the *Worcester Transcript*, some years after sold to the Worcester *Ægis* and changed in name to Worcester *Evening Gazette*. I find among my papers *the first volume of the Transcript published in 1845*, and before destroying it with other Library waste it occurred to me that it might be of some interest to the Antiquarian Society, and this is why I write thus to you to know to whom I may send it as a gift for such purpose.

I claim no credit therefor, but simply offer it as *a relic of old times*. * * * * *

Kindly and sincerely yours,

JULIUS L. CLARKE.

The *Daily Transcript* of 1845 referred to as having so narrow an escape needs for its completion the issues of June 26, July 10, 15, and August 22. While Vol. 1, No. 1, is dated June 9, the second number did not appear until June 24. The first issue of the *Worcester Daily Spy* was a month later, *i. e.*, on July 24, 1845. Mr. Clarke has also sent us a cabinet photograph which bears the following endorsement: "Elihu Burritt 'The Learned Blacksmith,' was a very dear friend of the writer, and between the two arose a kindly acquaintance, while the former, working year after year at his anvil in Worcester, became proficient in many languages, learned largely from extracts posted daily upon the walls in front of him. As now remembered he was averse to any photograph or portrait of himself, but while associated with him in the editorship of *The Christian Citizen* he was invited to England, in 1847, as a Representative of the American

Peace Society, of which he was a member; and a London paper in some way secured an excellent likeness of him, and from a copy sent to the writer the above and a few others were taken, and believed to be the only ones in this country."¹ It should be here recorded that the first Antiquarian Hall was Mr. Burritt's school of languages and that our learned librarian, Samuel Foster Haven, was his beloved mentor therein.

Mrs. Caroline H. Dall has made an interesting addition to our Cabinet. Its nature and value will best appear by a few extracts from her letter addressed to the librarian on March 23, 1901:

By the advice of Senator Hoar, I send to you to-day four articles, one of which, a silver casket, is of priceless value to me. It was made in the year 1650 in Amsterdam in Holland.

Enclosed you will find an old embroidered purse, which once had a gold clasp and inner clasp for gold, that is of no special value, except that it *also* was made in 1650, and is the exact duplicate of one which belonged to Mary, Queen of Scots.

There is a Lutheran prayer book printed in 1798, with the censor's autograph and an interesting engraving, and gold clasps worth \$60, that is thirty dollars each. These belonged to later members of the same family—the two wives of Thomas P. Tappan of Newburyport—originally of mixed Spanish, Peruvian and Dutch descent, apparently of great wealth, named Parker, Elisabeth and Martha, descended from De Fero, spelt in Dutch *de Ferāā*.

I send a set of silver gilt jewelry belonging to a Norwegian peasant bride, said by the sender to be 200 years old and impossible to duplicate.

The rings were worn on the thumb of both bride and groom. The set is perfect. Nothing missing except the bride's crown, which the family refused to give up to the landlord at any price.

The gift of Mr. Gherardi Davis, member of the New York Assembly, was announced by a letter of 14 January, 1901, in which he writes:

I have sent you by express, with my compliments, a copy of the Report of the New York Commission on the monuments of our soldiers on the Gettysburg Battlefield.

¹ See the *New England Magazine*, Vol. 16, 1897, pp. 386, 392, for other portraits

I see by the circular which you sent me, that curiously enough, this is in line with the fund which my uncles founded in memory of my grandfather and grandmother, the proceeds of which I see are for the purchase of literature relating to the Rebellion.

Mrs. Alice Morse Earle again recognizes service rendered, by sending her "Stage Coach and Tavern Days"; and Hon. Ellery B. Crane the second volume of his "Genealogy of the Crane Family."

Mr. Charles P. Merriam, of London, presents his "Genealogical Memoranda relating to the Family of Merriam" through Mr. Benjamin F. Stevens.

Among the papers of the late Mrs. Robinson P. Dunn were found carefully marked "For the American Antiquarian Society" early maps of Key West, which had probably been sent north by her uncle, Mr. Henry K. Newcomb.

Mr. James Green's "Causes of the War in South Africa" has been received from the author with forty-two European books and pamphlets relating to the subject under discussion; and Mr. Louis H. R. Gass has contributed ten of his photographs of historic sites in Brookfield, Massachusetts.

Mrs. Charles G. Reed, Miss Fanny M. Whitcomb and Miss Mary G. Whitcomb, nieces of Mrs. John B. Gough, have given a mass of material in printed, manuscript and medallion form, all pertaining to the life of Mr. Gough as the Apostle of Temperance in America and the British Isles.

Mr. Francis B. Rice of Boston, but formerly of Worcester, has presented two interesting memorials of his grandfather, Hon. Francis Blake. 1. A life-size silhouette in frame marked "Hon. Francis Blake of Worcester Mass. Born October 14th 1774 Died February 23d 1817." On the reverse is written "Presented to the American Antiquarian Society by Francis Blake Rice of Worcester, Mass., grandson of Hon. Francis Blake, April 12, 1901." 2. Manuscript law briefs of Hon. Francis Blake. Upon

page one is the following: "Worcester Dec^r 5, 1856. My dear Sir: The accompanying *Professional Briefs* have long been in my possession, and are still cherished by me, as most valuable memorials of a distinguished man and eminent Lawyer, whose association at the Bar, and whose friendship, it has been my happiness to enjoy. I know of no disposition I can now make of them more appropriate, in the advance of my own life, than to commit their future preservation to the grandson of the author, now entering upon the study of the profession, in the earnest desire on my part, that these proofs of fidelity, industry and learning, which these brief forms of cases exhibit, may stimulate to the like application, research, acquisition and eloquence which made the name and reputation of his ancestor illustrious. Levi Lincoln. To Mr. Francis Blake Rice." In the Society's Act of Incorporation the name of Francis Blake immediately precedes that of Levi Lincoln, Jr., the writer of this kindly endorsement.

Dr. Henry A. Reynolds has greatly strengthened our collection of Michigan State documents; and Mr. George Bouchard, for service rendered, that of the historical literature of New France.

Mr. John A. and Miss Frances W. Sweetser have selected from material left by their father, the Rev. Dr. Seth Sweetser, books, pamphlets, manuscripts, *etc.*, for preservation by the Society he served for so long time.

Mr. Henry F. Stedman has again remembered us with books from his library, including the rare Thomas 12^o Bible of 1798. The lower quarter of the title-page follows: UNITED STATES OF COLUMBIA. | PRINTED AT WORCESTER MASSACHUSETTS, | BY ISAAH THOMAS. | Sold by him in WORCESTER, by Wholesale, bound or in Sheets. | Sold also by said THOMAS and ANDREWS in Boston, and by the | Booksellers in the UNITED STATES OF COLUM-

BIA. | 1798. The 12^o edition of 1797 bears the same curious imprint with the exception of the date; while the folio and quarto editions of 1791 and the octavo editions of 1793 and 1802 are imprints of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. The volume is inscribed "Clarry Lyon | Her Bible 1800. | Gift of Mrs. Urania Marcy." And on the fly-leaves are recorded eight births, five marriages and five deaths in the Lyon family, the dates covering from 1760 to 1851. The staying quality of the ink therein used during the eighteenth century is markedly superior to that used for the nineteenth century entries.

A second large gift of medical and surgical literature, largely obsolete, has been received from the Worcester District Medical Society. This material is valuable from an historical point of view, and the duplicates have served the library of the United States Surgeon General's office as well as various hospitals and medical schools.

The death of Dr. Moses Coit Tyler has reminded the library staff of one whose summer visits to the library were a delight to all who were privileged to aid him in his researches.

The return to Mount Holyoke College of duplicate material relating thereto, brought from the librarian the following suggestive acknowledgment: "Very much obliged, as we lost most of our stores of documents when our main building was burned in 1896."

Bound copies of our Proceedings, Volume XIII., New Series, are now ready for members and others who may prefer the Society's binding.

Our collection of early American newspapers still holds its place, perhaps the first place among the library treasures. These papers are full of contemporary facts, figures and opinions which are nowhere else to be found. For instance, one hundred and fifty years ago today—April 24, 1751—No. 844 of Thomas Fleet's *The Boston Evening Post* contained for the third and last time a lengthy advertisement

of an electrical exhibition in connection with two lectures by Ebenezer Kinnersley.¹ The announcement reads :—

“ Notice is hereby given to the Curious, That at Faneuil Hall in Boston is now to be exhibited and continued from Day to Day, (the Weather being suitable) a Course of EXPERIMENTS on the newly-discovered *Electrical Fire*, containing not only the most curious of those that have been made and published in Europe, but a considerable Number of new Ones lately made in Philadelphia; to be accompanied with methodical LECTURES on the Nature and properties of that wonderful Element.”

Under the twenty headings of subjects to be treated in the first lecture are :—

“ IV That it doth not take up any perceptible Time in passing thro. large Portions of Space.

VI That our Bodies at all Times Contain enough of it to set a house on fire.

XV That this fire will live in Water, a River not being sufficient to quench the smallest Spark of it.

XVIII The Salute repulsed by the Ladies Fire; or fire darting from a Lady's lips, so that she may defy any person to salute her.

XIX Eight Musical Bells rung by an electrified Phial of Water.

XX A Battery of eleven Guns discharged by Fire issuing out of a Person's Finger.”

Among the fifteen subject headings for the second lecture are :—

“ IV Electrified Money which scarce any Body will take when offer'd to them.

VI Spirits kindled by Fire darting from a Lady's Eyes (without a Metaphor).

X Animals killed by it instantaneously (*sic*).

XV A Battery of eleven guns discharged by a Spark, after it has passed thro' ten Foot of Water.”

The advertisement concludes with the following paragraphs :—

“ As the Knowledge of Nature tends to enlarge the human mind, and give us more noble more grand and more exalted Ideas of the AUTHOR of Nature, and if well pursu'd seldom fails producing something useful to man; 'tis hoped these Lectures may be thought worthy of Regard and Encouragement. TICK-

¹ A friend of Franklin and interested in his electrical discoveries.

ETS to be had at Capt. James Gouch's House in Cornhill, Price half a *Dollar* for each Lecture. The Lectures to begin at 3 in the Afternoon of Each Day. Any Gentleman proposing a New Experiment, may have it tried at a Vacant Time.

Note. These Experiments succeed best when the air is dry, the Wind between West and South; therefore it is proposed when one Course is ended, to begin again the next fair dry Day; provided Tickets enough are sold to make up a Company of at least 20 Persons.

Those Gentlemen and Ladies who intend to be Spectators of these entertaining and astonishing Wonders of Nature, are desired to send for their Tickets in the Morning, that it may be timely known when a Company is to be expected.

N. B. It has lately been discovered that the Magnetic Vertue may be given to a Needle, and that Gun-Powder may be fired immediately by the Electric Spark."

The names of Alexander Graham Bell and Francis Blake, of our present membership, and of the lamented John Elbridge Hudson, recently a member, may suggest a reason for the selection of the foregoing illustration.

It is now fifty years since the first official action was taken by the Society looking towards a change of location for our library home. At the semi-annual meeting in April, 1851, Hon. Edward Everett in the chair, on motion of Prof. Simon Greenleaf it was voted: "That the thanks of the Society be presented to Hon. Stephen Salisbury, for his munificent donation of a valuable lot for a new library building." And on motion of the same gentleman it was further voted: "That the whole subject of erecting a new library building, and the disposal of the old building and land, be submitted to the discretion of the Council, with full power to sell the old building and land, and erect a new one as they may think proper."

We are also reminded that at the same meeting it was voted: "To proceed to ballot for the election of John C. B. Davis, Esq., of Worcester [now in London], as a member of the Society. Mr. Davis was accordingly elected." Mr. Davis, who is second on our roll of living members, has not only from time to time placed in our

keeping many gifts of the highest historic value, but has been otherwise mindful of our needs. The Librarian's heartfelt greetings and best wishes are hereby extended to him on the jubilee anniversary of his membership in the Society over which his honored father presided, and in which his brothers, Hon. Horace Davis and Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis are also active members.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.

Givers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

- ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS, LL.D., Lincoln.—His "Sifted Grain and the Grain Sifters."
- BARTON, EDMUND M., Worcester.—Three magazines, in continuation; and two medals.
- BOWDITCH, CHARLES P., Boston.—His "A method which may have been used by the Mayas in calculating time."
- BUTLER, JAMES D., LL.D., Madison, Wis.—Three of his own publications.
- CHASE, CHARLES A., Worcester.—Three books; fifty-five pamphlets; and two photographs.
- DAVIS, ANDREW McF., Cambridge.—"Letter of Mrs. Lucretia Chandler Bancroft to her daughter, Mrs. Gherardi," containing his historical notes; his "Andros's Proclamation Money," and a collection of programmes, 1855-1863.
- DAVIS, HON. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Five books; thirty-seven pamphlets; six portraits; and one map.
- DEXTER, FRANKLIN B., New Haven, Conn.—Smith's "Colonial Days and Ways"; and tributes to Prof. Edward E. Salisbury.
- DOYLE, JOHN T., Menlo Park, Cal.—His "Recovery of the Pious Fund."
- GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D., Baltimore, Md.—Two of his own publications.
- GREEN, HON. ANDREW H., *President*, New York.—The Sixteenth Annual Report of Commissioners of State Reservation at Niagara; and the Report of 1900 of the Society for the Preservation of Scenic and Historic Places and Objects in the State of New York.
- GREEN, HON. SAMUEL A., Boston.—His "Groton during the Revolution," with an appendix; Suffolk Deeds, Liber XI.; twenty-five books; one hundred and eighty-seven pamphlets; one photograph; one lithograph; one proclamation; and "The American Journal of Numismatics," as issued.
- HALE, REV. EDWARD E., D.D., Roxbury.—Two of his own publications.
- HALL, G. STANLEY, LL.D., Worcester.—"Clark University, 1889-1899, Decennial Celebration."
- HAYNES, GEORGE H., Ph.D., Worcester.—His "Representation in State Legislatures."

HOAR, HON. GEORGE F., Worcester.—Three of his own publications; fifty-nine books; seven hundred and eighty-eight pamphlets; seven maps; one medal; one photograph; one engraving; and seven files of newspapers, in continuation.

HUNTINGTON, REV. WILLIAM R., D.D., New York.—His "The Puritan Strain," a sermon preached March 10, 1901; the "Year Book of Grace Parish, New York, 1901"; and plans for the enlargement of the Parish buildings.

LEÓN, NICOLÁS, Mexico.—His "La Bibliografía en México en Siglo XIX."

LOUBAT, JOSEPH F., LL.D., New York.—Caecilie Seler's "Auf Alten Wegen in Mexiko und Guatemala"; and Eduard Seler's "Das Tonalamatl der Aubin'schen Sammlung"

MERRIMAN, REV. DANIEL, Worcester.—Young's "Historical Sketch of the Ministers Club, 1870-1899."

NOURSE, HON. HENRY S., South Lancaster.—His "Lancastriana I. A Supplement to the Early Records and Military Annals of Lancaster"; and II. "Bibliography."

PAINE, REV. GEORGE S., Worcester.—Six English cartoons; and one newspaper.

PAINE, NATHANIEL, Worcester.—The Baldwin Diary, with extra illustrations, 2 vols.; framed photograph of Baldwin's birthplace; five books; three hundred and twenty-seven pamphlets; one photograph; and four files of newspapers, in continuation.

PEET, STEPHEN D., Ph.D., *Editor*, Chicago, Ill.—"The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal," as issued.

SALISBURY, HON. STEPHEN, Worcester.—Le Plongeon's "Queen Moo"; Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1898, in ten volumes; "Vital Records of the Town of Boylston, Mass., to the end of the year 1850"; twelve books; five hundred and seventy-nine pamphlets; six files of newspapers; and two engravings.

SMITH, CHARLES C., Boston.—His report of 1901 as Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

SMYTH, REV. EGBERT C., D.D., Andover.—"Jonathan Edwards. A Retrospect," containing Dr. Smyth's "Influence of Edwards on the Spiritual Life of New England"; and "In Memory of Charles Beecher."

STEBBINS, REV. CALVIN, Framingham.—His "The Story of a church for two centuries, Framingham, 1700-1900."

STEVENS, BENJAMIN F., L.H.D., London, Eng.—A manuscript, small folio volume bound, entitled "John Chandler, American Loyalist. His Claims for 'Temporary Support,' and for 'Compensation for Losses Sustained'"; his "Memorials, Schedules, Evidences and Papers, Collated, Extracted and Transcribed from official documents in the

Public Record Office of England by Benjamin Franklin Stevens, L.H.D., A.A.S., F.S.A., and presented to the American Antiquarian Society, April, 1901"; and Mitchell's "Camphor in Japan and Formosa."

UPHAM, HENRY P., St. Paul, Minn.—"Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," vol. 71; Shea's "Charlevoix's History and General Description of New France," vols. 1, 2, N. Y., 1900; and "Tribute to Hon. Cushman K. Davis."

WRIGHT, CARROLL D., *Commissioner*, Washington, D. C.—Bulletin of the U. S. Department of Labor, as issued.

FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

ADAMS, PHILIP W., Worcester.—The Brown University diploma of George Jaques, A.M.

ALDRICH, MRS. THOMAS P., Worcester.—Four selected volumes.

AMERICAN FARMER COMPANY, Springfield, O.—Numbers of "The Farm News."

AMERICAN INVENTOR PUBLISHING COMPANY, Washington, D. C.—"The American Inventor," as issued.

AVERY, ELROY M., Cleveland, O.—His "Avery Notes and Queries," as issued.

BAKER AND TAYLOR COMPANY, New York.—The "Monthly Bulletin," as issued.

BANCROFT, JOHN M., Bloomfield, N. J.—His "Genealogical Notes on the Bancroft Family."

BANCROFT MEMORIAL COMMITTEE, Worcester.—Twenty-five programmes of the Bancroft Memorial, and the four cuts used therein.

BARTON, Miss LYDIA M., Worcester.—"The Association Record," in continuation.

BARTON, Rev. WILLIAM E., D.D., Hyde Park, Ill.—Six of his own publications.

BARTON, MRS. WILLIAM SUMNER, Worcester.—Seven books; thirty-six pamphlets; two maps; and one chart.

BEER, WILLIAM, New Orleans, La.—Numbers of New Orleans newspapers.

BENT, ALLEN H., Boston.—His "Lewis Allen of Watertown Farms (Weston), Mass., 1665, and his descendants."

BOSTON BOOK COMPANY.—"The Bulletin of Bibliography," as issued.

BOUCHARD, GEORGE, Worcester.—"Jugements et Délibérations du Conseil de la Nouvelle-France," 2 vols. 4to, Quebec, 1885; and "Collection de manuscrits contenant documents historiques relatif à la Nouvelle-France," 4 vols. 4to, Quebec, 1883-1885.

- BOWDITCH, HENRY P., M.D., Boston.—His Address on "The Medical School of the Future."
- BULLARD, HENRY A., Ph.D., Auburn, N. Y.—His "The Response of the Heart to Literature."
- CALDWELL, REV. AUGUSTINE, Providence, R. I.—One pamphlet.
- CARPENTER, REV. CHARLES C., Andover.—Three pamphlets relating to Phillips Academy, Andover.
- CHASE, GEORGE B., Boston.—His "Tribute to Mellen Chamberlain."
- CLARK, MRS. JONAS G., Worcester.—"In Memoriam Jonas Gilman Clark."
- CLARKE, HON. JULIUS L., *Editor*, Newton.—"The Daily Transcript," of Worcester, vol. 1, 1845; and photograph of Elihu Burritt.
- COLLIER, P. F., & SON, New York.—Numbers of Collier's "Weekly Journal of Current Events."
- CORNISH, LOUIS H., New York.—"The Spirit of '76," as issued.
- COUNTRYSIDE COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of "The Countryside."
- COUSINS, REV. EDGAR M., *Corresponding Secretary*, Biddeford, Me.—Minutes of Maine General Conference of Congregational Churches, 1900.
- CRANE, HON. ELLERY B., Worcester.—His "Genealogy of the Crane Family," vol. 2.
- CROSBY, C. FRED, Worcester.—"The Tobacco Trade," volumes 1 and 2.
- CUNNINGHAM, HENRY W., *Secretary*, Boston.—His Report, No. V., of Harvard College, Class of 1882.
- DALL, MRS. CAROLINE H., Washington, D. C.—A silver casket; a set of silver-gilt jewelry belonging to a Norwegian peasant bride; an Eighteenth century Lutheran Prayer Book, with gold clasps; and an embroidered purse.
- DAVIS, GHERARDI, New York.—"New York at Gettysburg," 3 vols. 8vo.
- DAY, REV. JOHN W., St. Louis, Mo.—His "Memorial of James Henry Robbins, M.D."
- DE MENIL, ALEXANDER N., St. Louis, Mo.—"The Hesperian," as issued.
- DERBY, SAMUEL C., Columbus, O.—His "Early Dublin List of Revolutionary Soldiers of Dublin, New Hampshire."
- DICKINSON, G. STEWART, Worcester.—Scott's Standard Postage Stamp Catalogue, 1901.
- DOUBLEDAY, PAGE AND COMPANY, New York.—One book.
- DUNN, MRS. ROBINSON P., Worcester.—Two early maps of Key West.
- EARLE, MRS. ALICE MORSE, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Her "Stage Coach and Tavern Days."
- ELDRIDGE, ELISHA D., Boston.—His "Short Sketch of the Life and Character of Ezekiel Cheever."

- ELK ENGRAVING COMPANY, Boston.—Portrait of Mather Byles.
- ELLSWORTH, J. LEWIS, Worcester.—Commonwealth of Massachusetts
"Manual for the General Court, 1900."
- EVANS, MRS. MARY C., *Matron*, Newton.—"Newton Home for Aged
People, Officers, Members of the Corporation, By-Laws, etc."
- EV'RY MONTH PUBLISHING COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of their
periodical.
- FROWDE, HENRY, London, Eng.—"The Periodical," as issued.
- GARLAND, CHARLES A., Worcester.—"The Garland Genealogy."
- GASS, LOUIS H. R., Brookfield.—Ten of his photographs of historic
sites in Brookfield.
- GATSCHE, ALBERT S., Ph.D., Washington, D. C.—His "Grammatic
Sketch of the Catawba Language."
- GAZETTE COMPANY., Worcester.—"The Worcester Evening Gazette," as
issued.
- GINN AND COMPANY, Boston.—"The Text Book Bulletin," as issued.
- GOLDEN RULE PUBLISHING COMPANY, Boston.—"The Christian En-
deavor World," as issued.
- GOOLD, NATHAN, Portland, Me.—His "Retrospect of Historical Events
in Portland"; and his "Portland Federal Volunteers."
- GREEN, JAMES, Worcester.—His "Causes of the War in South Africa,"
second edition; and one book and forty-one pamphlets relating
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Advertiser," as issued.
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houettelists."
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System of Arrangement for Genealogical Records."
- HILL, BENJAMIN T., Worcester.—Three copies of his "The Second
Worcester Court House."
- HORTON, WILLIAM T., Fitchburg.—"Wilmington Records of Births,
Marriages and Deaths, 1780-1798."
- HUBBARD, ELBERT, East Aurora, N. Y.—Numbers of "The Philistine."
- JENKS, Rev. HENRY F., Canton.—His "Some Problems of the Country
Parish"; and Hamilton's "Christian Liberty."
- KIMMENS, GILBERT A., Bolton.—"The Country Gentleman," 1866-1873;
and "The American Agriculturist," 1867-1873, both in binding.
- LANE, WILLIAM C., *Librarian*, Cambridge.—His third Report as Libra-
rian of Harvard University.

- LAWTON, Mrs. S. E. REED-, Worcester.—“The Manila Times” of December 25, 1900.
- LEYPOLDT, Mrs. AUGUSTA H., New York.—“The Literary Collector,” as issued.
- LITTLE CHRONICLE PUBLISHING COMPANY, Chicago, Ill.—Numbers of “The Little Chronicle.”
- MCCALL, Hon. SAMUEL W., Winchester.—His Speech December 5, 1900, on the Army Bill.
- MACMILLAN COMPANY, New York.—“Book Reviews,” as issued.
- MATTHEWS, ALBERT, Boston.—Two of his Philological pamphlets.
- MERRIAM, CHARLES P., London, Eng.—“Genealogical Memoranda relating to the Family of Merriam,” by Mr. Merriam and Mr. C. E. Gildersome Dickinson.
- MESSINGER COMPANY, Worcester.—“The Messenger,” as issued.
- MORGAN, CHARLES H., Worcester.—His “Some Landmarks in the History of the Rolling Mill.”
- MOWER, EPHRAIM, North Norwalk, Conn.—Three books.
- NELSON, Mrs. THOMAS L., Worcester.—“Proceedings of the Bench and Bar of the Circuit Court of the United States upon the decease of Thomas L. Nelson”; and one hundred and thirty-one numbers of magazines.
- NEW YORK EVENING POST PRINTING COMPANY.—“The Nation,” as issued.
- NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY.—Numbers of the Exposition edition of the “New York Times.”
- OLNEY, Hon. RICHARD, Boston.—His “Memoir of Benjamin F. Thomas, LL.D.”
- PAINE, JAMES P., Worcester.—One newspaper.
- PELLET, Mrs. CHARLOTTE, Worcester.—Two books; and forty-four numbers of magazines.
- PELLET, ELLIS C., Worcester.—Thirty selected books.
- PEÑAFIEL, ANTONIO, *Director*, Mexico, Mex.—“Anuario Estadístico de la Republica Mexicana, 1898.”
- PEOPLE PUBLISHING COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of “The People.”
- PERRY PICTURE COMPANY, Boston.—Numbers of the “Perry Magazine.”
- PUTNAM, EBEN, *Editor*, Salem.—Numbers of “The Genealogical Quarterly Magazine.”
- REED, Mrs. CHARLES G. and Misses FANNY M. and MARY G. WHITCOMB, Worcester.—Forty-two manuscript addresses presented to John B. Gough; forty of his manuscript addresses; forty books; seventeen scrap-books; three volumes of pledges; thirty-three pamphlets; seven photographs; five manuscripts; three specimens of Continental and

Confederate paper money; two medals; two early newspapers; and newspaper clippings.

REYNOLDS, HENRY A., M.D., Boston.—One hundred and nine books; and twenty pamphlets.

RICE, FRANCIS B., Boston.—A large, framed silhouette of the Hon. Francis Blake; manuscript law briefs written by him; his Fourth of July oration at Worcester in 1812; and Francis A. Blake's "Exposition of the Causes which led to the Controversy between General William Lytle and James W. Galaxy, Esq."

RICE, GEORGE M., Worcester.—His "Historical address to Worcester Royal Arch Chapter, February 17, 1899."

RICH, MARSHALL N., *Editor*, Portland, Me.—"The Portland Board of Trade Journal," as issued.

ROBINSON, MISS MARY, Worcester.—Eleven books; seventy-one pamphlets; and files of four periodicals, in continuation.

ROGERS, CHARLES E., Barre.—"The Barre Gazette," as issued.

ROE, HON. ALFRED S., Worcester.—"Fulton, New York: its Business Advantages and Home Attractions"; and Hamlin's "Battle of Chancellorsville."

ROGERS, JAMES S., Boston.—His "Hope Rogers and her Descendants."

SALISBURY, MRS. EDWARD E., New Haven, Conn.—Tributes to Edward E. Salisbury, LL.D.

SAVAGE, LEANDER T., New York.—Numbers of "The Cumulative Book-Index."

SCHELL, F. ROBERT, New York.—"In Memoriam Robert Schell, 1815-1900."

SENTINEL PRINTING COMPANY, Fitchburg.—"Fitchburg Weekly Sentinel," as issued.

SHATTUCK, MRS. GEORGE O., Boston.—"Memoir of George O. Shattuck."

SHAW, JOSEPH A., Worcester.—Twelve books; and seventy pamphlets.

SMITH, JONATHAN, Clinton.—His "Home of the Smith Family in Peterborough, N. H., 1749-1842."

SOLBERG, THORWALD, *Register*, Washington, D. C.—Two pamphlets relating to the Copyright Law.

SPY COMPANY.—"The Massachusetts Spy" and "The Worcester Daily Spy," as issued.

STONE, C. EMERSON, Andover.—Catalogue of Phillips Academy, Andover, 1900.

SUMNER, WILLIAM G., LL.D., New Haven, Conn.—His "The Predominant Issue."

SWAN, ROBERT T., *Commissioner*, Boston.—"The Thirteenth Annual Report on the Public Records of Massachusetts."

- SWEETSER, Miss FRANCES W., Grafton.—Twenty-two books; four hundred and ninety-three pamphlets; eight manuscript volumes; three photographs; and one map.
- SWEETSER, JOHN A., Grafton.—Thirteen books; and one pamphlet.
- TAYLOR, MARVIN M., Worcester.—“The Diary of Samuel Cooper, 1775-1776.”
- TELEGRAM NEWSPAPER COMPANY.—Bound volumes of the “Worcester Telegram,” vol. 15; and “Sunday Telegram,” vol. 16.
- TERRY, JAMES, New Haven, Conn.—Correspondence between James Terry and Henry T. Blake relating to the Chronicles of New Haven Green.
- THAYER, Hon. JOHN R., Worcester.—His speech of January 29, 1901, on “The Subsidy Bill.”
- TURNER, JOHN H., Ayer.—“The Groton Landmark,” as issued.
- TYLER, Mrs. MOSES COIT, Ithaca, N. Y.—“A Tribute to Moses Coit Tyler.”
- UNITY PUBLISHING COMPANY, Chicago, Ill.—Numbers of “The Unity.”
- VAN NAME, ADDISON, *Librarian*, New Haven, Conn.—His Report, January, 1899-July, 1900, as Librarian of Yale University.
- VINTON, Rev. ALEXANDER H., D.D., Worcester.—“The Parish,” as issued.
- WALKER, Hon. JOSEPH H., Worcester.—Six volumes of his papers on the Tariff, Silver Coinage, Banking and other subjects.
- WALKER, Rev. WILLISTON, D.D., Hartford, Conn.—“Reverend George Leon Walker, 1830-1890,” containing Dr. Walker's Tribute to his father.
- WESBY, JOSEPH S., AND SONS, Worcester.—“Godey's Lady's Book,” 1853-1872, bound in twenty-one volumes; four books; four hundred and eighty-five pamphlets; and “The Bookmaker,” in continuation.
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- WHITCOMB, MARY G., Worcester.—Twenty-seven pamphlets; and fourteen photographs.
- WHITE, Miss CAROLINE E., *Editor*, Philadelphia, Pa.—The “Journal of Zoöphily,” as issued.
- WILLIS, J. L. M., *Editor*, Elliot, Me.—“Old Elliot,” Vol. IV., and indexes to Vols. 1-3.
- WIRE, GEORGE E., M.D., *Deputy Librarian*, Worcester.—His “Third Annual Report of the Worcester County Law Library.”
- WOODWARD, LEMUEL F., M.D., Worcester.—One hundred and one pamphlets.

FROM SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

- ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.
- ACADEMY OF SCIENCE OF ST. LOUIS.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.
- AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.
- AMERICAN ANTI-VIVISECTION SOCIETY.—The Eighteenth Annual Report.
- AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.—“The Baptist Missionary Magazine,” as issued.
- AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY.—Publications of the Museum, as issued.
- AMERICAN NUMISMATIC AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- AMERICAN SEAMEN’S FRIEND SOCIETY.—“The Sailor’s Magazine,” as issued.
- AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION.—Publications of the Association, as issued.
- ASSOCIAZIONE TIPOGRAFICO LIBRERIA-ITALIANA, Milan, Italy.—“Catalogo Generale Della Libreria Italiana, 1847-1899.”
- AUSTRALIAN MUSEUM.—Records of the Museum, as issued.
- AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.—The Ninetieth Annual Report.
- BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE DI FIRENZE.—The “Library Bulletin,” as issued.
- BOSTON ATHENÆUM.—Index to the Washington Catalogue of the Athenæum Collection.
- BOSTON BOARD OF HEALTH.—Publications of the Board, as issued.
- BOSTON CITY HOSPITAL.—The Thirty-sixth Annual Report.
- BOSTON MEDICAL LIBRARY.—“Dedication of the New Building of the Boston Medical Library, Jan. 12, 1901.”
- BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.
- BOSTON TRANSIT COMMISSION.—The Sixth Annual Report.
- BOWDOIN COLLEGE.—College publications, as issued.

- BROOKLINE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Publications of the Library, as issued.
- BROOKLYN PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.
- BROWN UNIVERSITY.—Publications of the University, as issued.
- BUFFALO PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Fourth Annual Report.
- BUREAU OF AMERICAN REPUBLICS.—Publications of the Bureau, as issued.
- CANADA GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.—Reports of the Survey, as issued.
- CANADIAN INSTITUTE.—Publications of the Institute, as issued.
- CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL, Boston.—The Thirty-second Annual Report.
- CITY NATIONAL BANK, Worcester.—Three files of newspapers, in continuation.
- COLGATE UNIVERSITY.—The Annual Catalogue for 1900-1901.
- COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.—"The Political Science Quarterly," as issued.
- CONNECTICUT ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.
- CONNECTICUT, STATE OF.—One proclamation.
- CONNECTICUT STATE LIBRARY.—Two proclamations.
- CORNELL UNIVERSITY.—Register for 1900-1901.
- DREDDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- DETROIT PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Thirty-sixth Annual Report.
- ENOCH PRATT FREE LIBRARY.—The Fifteenth Annual Report.
- ESSEX INSTITUTE.—Publications of the Institute, as issued.
- FIDELITY AND CASUALTY COMPANY OF NEW YORK.—Report of the New York Chamber of Commerce Committee on "State and Municipal Taxation."
- FIELD COLUMBIAN MUSEUM.—Publications of the Museum, as issued.
- FITCHBURG, CITY OF.—"The Old Records of the Town of Fitchburg," Vol. III.
- GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.—Seminary publications, as issued.
- HARVARD UNIVERSITY.—Reports of President and Treasurer, 1899-1900, and catalogue for 1900-1901.
- HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- INSURANCE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, Boston.—The Reports of 1888-1900; with an Account of Early Insurance Offices in Massachusetts, 1724-1801.
- IOWA HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT.—"The Annals of Iowa," as issued.
- IOWA MASONIC LIBRARY, Cedar Rapids, Ia.—Numbers of "The Library Quarterly Bulletin."

JAMES PRENDERGAST FREE LIBRARY, Jamestown, N. Y.—The Ninth Annual Report.

JERSEY CITY FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.—Publications of the University, as issued.

LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE.—Doings of the Conference, 1900.

LEICESTER PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Report of 1901.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.—Library publications, as issued.

LOS ANGELES PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Twelfth Annual Report.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

MANCHESTER HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.—Publications of the Association, as issued.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—"Archives of Maryland," Vols. 18 and 20.

MASSACHUSETTS AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.—Publications of the College, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS, COMMONWEALTH OF.—"Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolution," Vol. V., and thirteen State documents of 1899.

MASSACHUSETTS GRAND LODGE OF ANCIENT FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.—Proceedings of the Grand Lodge, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.—Publications of the Board, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS WOMEN'S RELIEF CORPS.—Journal of the Twenty-first Annual Convention.

MILLBURY, TOWN OF.—The Reports of 1901.

MUSEO NACIONAL DE MÉXICO.—Publications of the Museum, as issued.

NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.—The Annual Report for 1900.

NATIONAL BOARD OF TRADE.—Proceedings of the Thirty-first Annual Meeting.

NEWARK FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

NEW HAMPSHIRE STATE LIBRARY.—Library Reports, 1898-1900.

NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Archives of New Jersey, Vol. 21, first series; and publications of the Society, as issued.

NEW JERSEY STATE LIBRARY.—The Annual Report of 1900.

NEW YORK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—"Hoffman's Memorial of the Hon. John Alsop King."

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.

- NEW YORK REFORM CLUB.**—Publications of the Club, as issued.
- NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY.**—"New York at Gettysburg," 3 vols. 8vo.; and the Library publications, as issued.
- NEW YORK YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.**—The Forty-seventh Annual Report.
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- OTTAWA LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—Transactions of the Society, No. 2.
- PARK COLLEGE, Parkville, Mo.**—"The Park Review," as issued.
- PEABODY INSTITUTE OF BALTIMORE.**—Second Catalogue of the Library, Part V.
- PEABODY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY.**—Publications of the Museum, as issued.
- PERKINS INSTITUTION AND MASSACHUSETTS SCHOOL FOR THE BLIND.**—The Sixty-ninth Annual Report.
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- ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA.**—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- SALEM PUBLIC LIBRARY.**—Library publications, as issued.
- SCRANTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.**—The Tenth Annual Report.
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- SOCIÉTÉ DES AMÉRICANISTES DE PARIS.**—Publications of the Society, as issued.
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- SOCIÉTÉ DE GÉOGRAPHIE, Paris, France.**—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- SOUTHERN EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION.**—One pamphlet.
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WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION.—Fifty-four pamphlets; and twenty-four files of newspapers, in continuation.

WORCESTER DISTRICT MEDICAL SOCIETY.—Eighty-two books; and nineteen hundred and seventy-four pamphlets.

WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Thirty-five books; three hundred and seventy-two pamphlets; and eighty-eight files of newspapers, in continuation.

WORCESTER NATIONAL BANK.—Four files of Boston and New York newspapers, in continuation.

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MANTEO AND JACK STRAW.

BY WILLIAM T. FORBES.

THE shire town of Dare County, North Carolina, is situated on Roanoke Island, between Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds, and bears the name of an Indian, Manteo, who was for several years in the service of Sir Walter Raleigh.

This island is, and doubtless always will be, associated with Raleigh's five unsuccessful attempts to make a permanent settlement in Virginia.

In the southeasterly part of Westborough, in this Commonwealth, a hill has borne the name of Jack Straw for more than two hundred years.

As a boy, the writer played in Jack Straw Brook, climbed Jack Straw Hill, and watched the cattle feeding in Jack Straw Pasture. A deed, dated 1723, granting eighty acres of land to Jonathan Forbes, an ancestor of the writer, described the premises as situated "at Jack Straw's Hill." Other ancient deeds of land in the vicinity refer to the south line of Marlborough as "Jack Straw's old line."

Efforts to ascertain the origin of this name have led me back through registries of deeds in Worcester, Middlesex and Suffolk counties, in each of which, successively, this hill was located. I find among the Massachusetts archives at the State House, proof that many years prior to the first white settlement in that vicinity, Jack Straw's Hill was a well-known landmark.

In all early deeds, maps and grants of the General Court the name is written "Jack Straw's Hill." During

the last half-century, in all printed documents and among the people of its vicinity, it has been known and is now called, "Jackstraw Hill."

It is the purpose of this paper to show that Manteo, the faithful friend of Sir Walter Raleigh and his colonists, from 1584 to 1587, the first Christian Indian in the English Colonies, and Jack Straw, who in his old age enjoyed the hospitality of Gov. Winthrop, in Boston, and of Gov. Bradford, in Plymouth, were probably the same person,—that the county seat of Dare County, North Carolina, and this Worcester County hill, bear the names of the same Indian.

In 1584, Queen Elizabeth granted to Sir Walter Raleigh the land in America from latitude 33° to 40° north, which he named Virginia. That very year he sent two vessels, under Capt. Amadas and Capt. Barlow, to explore the country.

They were cordially received, and returned with the products of the soil and also "two of the savages, being lusty men, whose names were Wanchese and Manteo."

They were taken to Sir Walter Raleigh, who presented them and a great pearl and other products of Virginia to Queen Elizabeth.

The following year, 1585, Sir Richard Grenville sailed to Virginia with seven vessels, the four largest from 50 to 140 tons. He left 108 men, under Ralph Lane, to found a colony in Roanoke. Lane says, "The natives which were taken to England returned with this expedition. One of them, Manteo, did good service in opening the way for the landing and friendly reception of the fleet."

Referring to one of his exploring expeditions, Lane writes :—

"In the evening, * * * about three of the clock, we heard certain savages call, as we thought, Manteo, who was also at that time with me in the boat, whereof we all being very glad hoping of some friendly conference with

them & making him to answer them they presently began a song, as we thought, in token of our welcome to them.

But Manteo presently betook him to his piece & told me that they meant to fight with us.

Which word was not so soon spoken by him, & the light horseman ready to put to shore, but their alighted a volley of their arrows among them in the boat."

In the second part, touching the conspiracy of King Wangina, otherwise called Pemisapan, Lane refers to an expedition in which he was accompanied by Manteo.

In the troubles with the Indians which followed, Wanchese, Manteo's companion in England, is referred to as "one of our great enemies." He aided in the killing of George Howe, who was ambushed on Roanoke Island.

In one of the numerous fights with the savages, their king, Pemisapan, formerly named Wangina, who had been shot through by the colonel and left for dead, suddenly started up and outran his captors, while Lane was looking out for the safety of Manteo's friends among the Indians. He was overtaken and beheaded by an Irishman named Nugent.

In 1586, Sir Francis Drake, with a large fleet, appeared and, at their request, took the discouraged colonists back to England.

A few days after they sailed, Sir Walter Raleigh's relief expedition, of three vessels, under Sir Richard Grenville, arrived, immediately preceded by a ship of 100 tons. The fifteen men left on the island by this third expedition were killed by the Indians. "Their houses were found standing, and deer feeding on the melons of divers sorts growing in the deserted fort."

The fourth and best equipped expedition sent out by Raleigh sailed in 1587, under Capt. John White. Manteo, who had gone to England with Lane the previous year, returned with White. There were 150 persons with White, including his daughter and 16 other women.

The following narrative is taken from White's report :—

"July 30th. Mr. Stafford & twenty of our men passed by water to the island of Croatoan" (Cape Lookout, about 75 m. S. of Roanoke) "with Manteo, who had his mother and many of his kindred dwelling in that Island, of whom we hoped to understand some news of our fifteen men, but especially to learn the disposition of the people of the country towards us & to renew our old friendship with them." The natives at first appeared hostile and then fled, but returned at the call of Manteo, who spoke to them in their own language.

In revenge for the death of George Howe, who was slain by Wangina's men in Roanoke Island, Manteo conducted a night expedition, under Capt. Stafford, who surprised and killed some friendly Indians who were encamped in the enemies' country for the purpose of gathering their abandoned "corn, peas, pompions and tobacco."

Lane says that Manteo behaved himself towards us as a most faithful Indian, and adds :—

"August 13th, our savage, Manteo, by the commandment of Sir Walter Raleigh, was christened in Roanoke, and called lord thereof and of Dasamonguepeuk, in reward of his faithful services."

Another eye witness writes that they arrived at Hata-rask July 22, and "the Governor, accompanied with forty of his best men in a small pynnace, stood in for Roanoke * * * where, having christened a grandchild of his own born there (his daughter being married to one of the company), and calling it Virginia" (this was Virginia Dare, born August 18, 1587), "he caused, likewise, Manteo, the savage, to be christened, by Sir W. Raleigh his appointment, and, in reward of his faithfulness, entitled him Lord of Roanok and of Dasamonguepeuk."

So far as I can learn, Manteo was the first Indian baptized in the English colonies or under English auspices.

So Manteo succeeded Wangina, the beheaded king of Roanoke and Dasamonguepeuk. The latter place was the large peninsula west of Roanoke.

The fifth and last expedition for the relief of the Roanoke Colony, under John White, in 1590, after various vicissitudes, sailed north from the West Indies, past Cape Lookout on the island of Croatoan, and reached Roanoke in August.

They encountered rough weather. lost seven men, and returned to England without seeing a colonist.

They found on a tree three fair Roman letters, "C. R. O.," which letters, White writes, "we knew to signify the place where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token agreed upon between them and me. If in distress, they should carve a cross over the letters or name; but no sign of distress was found. At the entrance to the fort, in fair capital letters, graven on one of the chief posts, they found the word "CROATOAN." Capt. White was but a passenger on Watts's fleet with supplies, and was broken-hearted when his associates decided to leave the colonists, including his daughter and granddaughter Virginia Dare, to their fate. He writes, however, "I greatly joyed that I had safely found a certain token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was born, and the savages of the islands our friends."

This is the last certain information that we have of the fate of the colonists. A tradition among the Hatteras Indians a hundred years after suggests that they intermarried with the natives and, finally, were absorbed by the savages, having lost every vestige of Christianity and civilization.

This seems probable to Dr. Francis K. Hawkes, author of a History of North Carolina, printed in 1856.

His principal reasons for believing this tradition are the grey eyes and other signs of white blood found among the savages.

The story told by Strachey, first Secretary of the Jamestown Colony, is much more credible. He says that they were killed a few years before the landing at Jamestown by Powhatan, who was influenced by his priests.

In the year 1674, Maj.-Gen. Daniel Gookin makes this report:—

“Magunkaquog (Magunco) is the seventh town where the praying Indians do inhabit.

The number of its inhabitants are about eleven families and about fifty-five souls, of whom eight are church members and fifteen baptized.”

This Indian town was included later within the limits of Hopkinton, adjoining Westborough.

Among them were William Jackstraw and his two sons, Joseph Jackstraw and John Jackstraw.

They were all hanged on Boston Common, September 21, 1676.

The story of the Indian attack on the family of Thomas Eames of Framingham, February 1, 1675-6, is well known. In his absence, a party of eleven Indians burned his house, barn and cattle, killed his wife and five children, and carried off five others.

William Jackstraw and his two sons were present, under the lead of the famous Netus, who, with a few other praying Indians escaped to the woods when their associates were deported to Deer Island, at the beginning of King Philip's War.

After the proclamation of June 19, promising life to such of the enemy as would come in and submit, the three Jackstraws gave themselves up, with their wives and children.

They relied on these words of the Council: “Those that have been drawn into the war and acting only as soldiers * * * shall have their lives spared.”

William Jackstraw and his two sons were examined before Mr. Thomas Danforth, August 14. His minutes

of the examination are as follows :—"Joseph, Indian, son of William, of Mogoncocke, being examined, do say & confess that himself with these others named in the margin (see list above) were the persons that destroyed Thomas Eames' family in the beginning of Feb. last: that the same was occasioned by their missing of corn which they expected to have found at Moguncocke, & by that means were provoked to come & do that spoil, killing of some & carrying captive of the rest, and burning house, barn and cattle; and do confess that he carried away on his back one of Eames's sons.

"Apumatquin, alias John, being examined, do confess the same thing.

"William Jackstraw, being examined, do confess the same thing as above: owns that his sons Joseph and John were present at the desolation of Goodman Eames's family, and that himself was of the company, but kept at a distance a little way off in the cornfields.

"Isaac Beech being present at this examination, do say Joseph, above-named, confessed the same thing to him and Jno. Prentice.

"For encouragement to Joseph, who was first examined, to tell the truth (they at first denying all), I told him I would speak to the Governor to spare his life in case he would tell me plainly how all this said matter was acted.

"Taken the day and year above said, Before Thomas Danforth, John Speen, Interpreter.

"Confessions were owned by the prisoners at the barr, 18, 6, 76.

E. R. Sec."

Copy of Indictment. "We the grand jury for our Sovereign Lord the King do present and indict Joseph Indian of Maguncog by the name of Joseph Indian, for that he not having the fear of God before his eyes and being instigated by the devil did with other his accomplices on the beginning of Feb. 6 last burn the house and cattle of Thomas Eames and killed his wife and children,

contrary to the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King his crown and dignity, the laws of God and of this jurisdiction.

"The Jury finds this bill, and have him to forthwith tryal. Richard Colicott foreman for the name of the rest of the Jury."

They were all convicted August 18, 1676. They sent in to the Court of Assistants on the fifth day of September following, a petition reciting the terms of their surrender, and claiming that, although present, they did not assist in the massacre, and asking for their lives. Sixteen days later, the diary of Samuel Sewall contains this item :—

"Stephen Goble of Concord was executed for murder of Indians. Three Indians for firing Eames his house and murder. The weather was cloudy and rawly cold, though little or no rain. Mr. Mighil prayed; four others sat on the gallows, two men and two impudent women, one of which at least laughed on the gallows as several testified."

The remaining eight Indians were killed, pardoned, or escaped.

The Indians frequently used the first name of the father as the surname of the son or daughter.

In the diary of the Rev. Ebenezer Parkman of Westborough, Mass., great-grandfather of the historian Francis Parkman, under the date of March 23, 1737, is this entry :—

"Cold northerly wind. P. M. visited old David Monanow, he tells me he was 104 last Indian Harvest. Says the name of Boston was not Shawmut but Shaw-waw-muck."

His son was named Abimeleck David, and the latter's daughter Sue Abimeleck. Her fate is noted in the same diary, under date of Jan. 31, 1779. "Hear that Sue Bimeleck was lately frozen to Death. This whole month has been cold to admiration."

Sarah Boston, the Indian giantess of Grafton, Mass., still remembered by persons living in the land of the Hassanamiscoes, was the daughter of Boston Phillips.

It seems, therefore, probable that the children of Jack Straw the elder used his name as one word for a surname, and the children of his son William, who would naturally be adults in 1675, still retained the family name derived from their famous ancestor.

Phinehas Pratt was one of sixty sent to Massachusetts to found a Colony, by Thomas Weston, in the year 1622. In his Narrative, published in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Vol. IV., Fourth Series, are these words :

"Neare unto y⁺ place is a Town of Lator Time caled Brantry. Not long after this oferthrow of the first plantation in this bay Capt. Louit cam to y^e Cuntry.

At the Time of his being at Piscataway a Sacham or Sagamor Gave two of his men, on to Capt Louit & an other to Mr. Tomson, but on y^t was ther said "How can you trust these Salvagis & call the nam of on Watt Tylor & y^e other Jack Straw after y^e names of the two greatest Rehills y^t ever weare in Eingland"

"Wott Tylor" said "when he was a boy Capt. Doomer found him upon an Island in great distress."

Watt Tyler and Jack Straw led insurgent peasants of the counties of Essex and Kent, and Tyler was killed by the Lord Mayor Walworth while treating with Richard II.

GOV. WINTHROP'S JOURNAL, p. 25.

April 4, 1631.

"Wahginacut a Sagamore upon the river Quonehtacut which lies W. of Naraganset came to the Governor at Boston, with John Sagamore and Jack Strawe (an Indian which had lived in England and had served Sir Walter Raleigh and was now turned Indian again) and divers of their sannops and brought a letter to the Governor from Mr. Endicot to this effect; that the said Wahginacut was very desirous to have some Englishmen to come plant in his country and offered to find them corn and give them yearly eighty skins of beaver, and that the country was

very fruitful, &c. and wished that there might be two men sent with him to see this country.

"The Governor entertained them at dinner but would send none with him. He discovered afterwards that the said sagamore is a very treacherous man and at war with the Pekoath (a far greater Sagamore): His country is not above five days journey from us by land."

To sum up :

The literature of the Roanoke Colony and of Sir Walter Raleigh's connection with Virginia is very minute and voluminous, and based on detailed narratives of those who participated in the events narrated, which cover the years 1584 to 1590, inclusive. Raleigh had nothing to do with Virginia after the latter date. All contemporary and other writers agree that two natives, Manteo and Wanchese, were taken to England in 1584, presented by Raleigh to Queen Elizabeth, and returned to Roanoke in 1585.

Wanchese immediately joined the hostile natives, assisted in killing George Howe, remained an implacable enemy of the English, and was never in the service of Raleigh.

Manteo twice visited England ; " was a firm friend to the English " ; was of the greatest service to the Colony ; was baptized and made king of Roanoke and Dasamonguepeuk by command of Sir Walter Raleigh himself, who never visited the infant settlement. No writer mentions the visit of any other North American Indian to England and of his serving Raleigh.

According to Capt. Lovit, an Indian on the coast of Maine, in the early part of the seventeenth century, was given the name of Jack Straw and went to Braintree. His companion when a boy (and very possibly Jack Straw himself), was rescued from peril on an island by Capt. Doomer. A large proportion of the ships of that time sailed direct from England to the West Indies, and then followed the coast north and passed in sight of the island of Croatan, Manteo's home.

A few years later he is employed to negotiate a treaty with the colonies of Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth, is dined by Gov. Winthrop and by Gov. Bradford, and the following year is given a coat worth twelve shillings (paid for out of the Colony Treasury), by order of Governor Winthrop.

According to Winthrop, this Indian, Jack Straw, had once served Raleigh, and had doubtless once lived as a civilized Christian, or Winthrop would not have observed that he "had turned Indian again."

He was so well known in the Massachusetts Bay Colony that his humble wigwam made a landmark in the wilderness and his name still marks the place of his abode. Contrary to the usual Indian custom in the vicinity, his descendants, for at least two generations, retained his Christian and surname as a family name.

Does it not seem probable that Manteo and Jack Straw were two names of the same man, and he one of the most famous Indians of the English Colonies in America ?

THE PROVINCE SNOW, "PRINCE OF ORANGE."

BY WALDO LINCOLN.

IN THE summer of 1740, there being a war between England and Spain, and the American colonies being much harassed by Spanish privateers, Governor Belcher called the attention of the General Court of the Province of Massachusetts Bay to the defenceless state of the coast, and advised the purchase of a vessel sufficiently powerful to protect navigation and trade.¹ Although the home government had generally maintained some ships of war off the coast and in the ports of the American colonies, the protection given had never been adequate; and the colonial governments had, from the first, been obliged to rely upon themselves for effectual defence. For many years the Province of Massachusetts Bay had maintained one or more vessels as a coast guard, and, as early as 1673, the ship "Anthony" had been so employed,² but, during most of the time, these vessels had been quite small, ill armed, carrying a small crew, relying upon oars as well as sails for progress, and were frequently not owned by the government, but hired for the service.³

In response to the Governor's recommendation the General Court, July 9, 1740, granted £6500 for the purchase and equipment of a suitable vessel and put the matter in the hands of a committee,⁴ who immediately contracted with Benjamin Hallowell for a vessel of 180 tons, work on which was begun on July 20 and continued with such diligence that

¹ Appendix B, 1, 2.² Records of Mass. Bay, Vol. IV., Part 2, p. 572.³ Acts and Resolves Province of Mass. Bay, Vols. I., VII., VIII.; many references in each.⁴ Appendix A, 1.

she was launched on August 26, in the presence of a large number of people. She was a snow, a vessel then common but now hardly known, which differs from a brig only in having a trysail-mast close abaft the main-mast. She was to be armed with sixteen carriage guns, carrying a ball of six pounds, and as many swivel guns. She was named the "Prince of Orange," and her command was given to Capt. Edward Tyng, an experienced navigator, of Boston.¹

Meanwhile the committee reported the necessity for a further appropriation of £3500 for guns and other warlike stores, which was promptly granted,² and September 10 provision was made for a crew of sixteen officers and seventy-four men, of whom the captain, gunner, boatswain and two foremast men were to be employed permanently, and the others upon cruises only.³ Besides those mentioned, the officers were to be a lieutenant, master, doctor, chaplain, mate, steward, cook, gunner's-mate, pilot, boatswain's-mate, carpenter, cooper and armourer.

It is probable that the vessel was sent to sea on her completion in the fall of 1740, though no reference to her sailings is made in the Massachusetts archives nor in the Boston newspapers, save that the General Court, on October 12, made an appropriation for provisions and wages of her officers and men.⁴ Six muster-rolls only are preserved in the Massachusetts archives, covering the time from November 26, 1740, to February 3, 1742-3.⁵ Five other muster-rolls, which, unfortunately, have not been preserved, covering the time from February 4, 1742-3, to January 27, 1744-5, were presented by Capt. Tyng and ordered paid.⁶ From these it appears that the snow was continuously employed, with a full complement of men, from about the middle of February until the middle or last of November in each year, and that, during the rest of each year, she was laid up with her winter crew of five,

¹ Appendix B, 3-5; *Ibid.* A, 2, 2a, 3. ² *Ibid.*, 4-7, 10, 11. ³ *Ibid.*, 8, 9. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.
⁵ *Ibid.*, 66-70. ⁶ *Ibid.*, 34, 36, 55, 62, 63.

which was increased in November, 1743, to six by the addition of a lieutenant.¹

Although the vessel was made ready for the summer season of 1741 as early as March 9,² her first cruise is not noted until April 17, when she sailed in quest of "a foreign vessel."³ During this year she made quite extended cruises between Cape Sable on the north and Virginia on the south, and proved to be satisfactory for speed but had no occasion to test her fighting qualities.⁴ During the three following years she was constantly in service in the spring, summer and fall, on the lookout for privateers and pirates, extending one of her cruises in 1743 as far as the Florida coast,⁵ but never having the fortune to meet with an enemy. She was also used as a despatch boat and, in 1742 with the ship "Vernon," carried Gov. Shirley and his party on a visit to the eastern Indians.⁶

Owing no doubt to the number of privateers which were fitted out at Boston and elsewhere during the Spanish and French wars, service on which was more tempting because more remunerative than on a strictly naval vessel, there was always much difficulty in obtaining a crew for the "Prince of Orange" and, in December, 1741, to encourage men to enlist on her, an act was passed by the General Court granting to the ship's company all vessels, stores and goods which they should take from the enemy, besides £10 per head in old tenor bills for each man of the enemy taken or killed, to which the English government added £5 sterling.⁷ In spite of this it was frequently necessary to have recourse to impressment,⁸ and, in April, 1742, a new scale of wages was adopted, considerably increasing the pay of the officers and men, though this was, perhaps,

¹ Appendix A, 35. ² *Ibid.*, 13, 66. ³ *Ibid.* B, 6. ⁴ *Ibid.* A, 17, 18, 20; *Ibid.* B, 7-16. ⁵ *Ibid.*, 23-27. ⁶ *Ibid.*, 18-21.

⁷ *Ibid.* A, 21-23; Acts and Resolves, Vol. II., p. 1085; Appendix B, 17.

⁸ *Ibid.* A, 26, 27, 29, 31, 33, 39, 60.

offset by the depreciation of paper money.¹ At the same time the allowance for provisions per week was fixed for each officer and sailor, no distinction being made between them, as follows :—seven pounds of bread, seven gallons of beer, four pounds of beef, four pounds of pork, one quart of pease, one quart of corn.² The following March, flour and rice were substituted for Indian meal, but otherwise the establishment seems to have been continued during the service of the vessel.³ A bill for provisions, furnished by Capt. Tyng for the year 1742, is preserved in the Massachusetts archives.⁴

In June, 1744, war having been proclaimed with France,⁵ the General Court passed a new act, similar to that of 1741, granting to the officers and company of vessels of war commissioned by the Provincial government, sole interest in all and every ship, vessel, goods and merchandise taken after the 1st of June, 1744, “during the present war with France,” and £3 for every man taken or killed.⁶

Capt. Tyng was immediately ordered to Annapolis Royal, with news of the war, where his timely arrival enabled the commander of the place to put it in a state of defence and, probably saved it from immediate capture.⁷ Returning to Boston, where news had meanwhile arrived that the French had six privateers at sea from Cape Breton which were threatening the coast, Capt. Tyng started on a cruise in Massachusetts Bay on June 18, and on the following Saturday, June 23, met one of these privateers off Cape Cod and captured her without the loss of a man on either side. He returned to Boston with his prize, and was rapturously received by his fellow-citizens. All the newspapers contain accounts of the fight,⁸ and that given in the *Evening Post* of July 2 is here quoted at length :—

“Last Monday in the afternoon Capt. Tyng in our Province Snow arrived here from a short Cruise and bro’t in with her a french Privateer.”

¹ Appendix A, 26. ² *Ibid.*, 28. ³ *Ibid.*, 32, 37. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 30. ⁵ *Ibid.*, 41, 42; *Ibid.* B, 29. ⁶ *Ibid.* A, 44-46; Acts and Resolves, Vol. III., p. 143. ⁷ Appendix B, 25. ⁸ *Ibid.*, 30-33.

teer Sloop of 8 carriage and 10 or 12 swivel Guns with 94 men Capt. Delabrotz Commander which he happily met with about 15 Leagues from Cape Cod about 9 o'clock on Saturday morning as he was coming in from the Sea. The Frenchman taking him for an inward bound Westindia Man (for he wisely kept his Guns housed) stood directly for him, and coming pretty near gave him a Gun, which he returned with a Broadside; upon which the Frenchman fired two Guns, then took to their Oars (there being but little Wind) and endeavored to get away. This obliged Capt. Tyng to put out his Oars also, and after a hard Chace of 12 or 13 hours (during which Time Capt. Tyng treated his Men well with Liquor, and encouraged them all he could) he came up with the Sloop, and having given her a Broadside and a Volley of Small Arms, they cry'd for Quarters, but in their Panick forgot to strike their Colours, and kept them flying till some of our brave English Lads went on board and exchanged them for the Kings Colours. Capt. Tyng's Shot hapned to be so well placed, that the Sloop's Sails and Rigging were tore all to pieces; and when the French Captain came on board, he gave Capt. Tyng a great character of his Gunner, saying, he was the best that he ever knew, for that every Shot he fired during the Chace, took Place, and did him some Damage in his Sails or Rigging. One Shot struck the Mast just below the Hounds, which so disabled it, that soon after they surrendered it broke off, and left the Sloop without an Inch of Sail or Rigging standing; so that Capt. Tyng was obliged to take her in Tow, or he could not have got her in. As the French fired but few Guns at Capt. Tyng, and as they all ran down in the Hold when he was about to fire, it is not much to be wondered at that not a Man was kill'd or wounded on either Side. The Prisoners were all landed in the Evening and conducted to Prison under a strong Guard, and in the Morning about 50 of them were removed to the Gaols in Cambridge and Charlestown. The Fellows are all as merry as they are ragged, and seem well pleased with their Circumstances, declaring, that they live better here than they did at Home, except five of the late Garrison at Canso who entered voluntarily aboard the Privateer, and who are now sensible that they have been in a wrong Box. The Privateer had been about three Weeks from Lewisburgh, and had plundered and destroyed the English Settlement at St. Peter's in Newfoundland, where they kill'd a great many Cattle and carried off about 40 Sheep, several of which they had upon Deck when taken, and about 40 Barrels of Beef in their Hold, but they had not taken any Vessel since they came upon the Coast; They could have taken several small ones, but did not care to be troubled with them; they wanted some rich Ships either inward or outward bound; and the day before Capt. Tyng met with them, they had been within two Leagues of the Light House, and had their Eyes upon a Ship there in Nantasket Road, but were discouraged upon seeing a Vessel with a Pendant flying. The Captain is a Gentleman well known in Town, and has a Son at School about six Miles off. It is said he has been kind and serviceable to the English upon many Occasions at Lewis-

burgh, and he is now civilly treated himself, being at Liberty to walk about as he pleases. It is allowed by all, both Friends and Enemies, that Capt. Tyng behaved with great Bravery and good Conduct during the whole Engagement and Pursuit; and the Town are so sensible of his Merit and of the Importance of his Service to the Publick that at an adjournment of a Meeting of the Inhabitants on Tuesday last, it was Unanimously Voted, That the Thanks of the Town be given to Capt. Edward Tyng, Commander of the Province Snow for the great Service he has done in taking and bringing to this Harbour a French Privateer Sloop belonging to Cape Briton Mounting Sixteen Guns and Mann'd with Ninety four Men Commanded by Capt. Delabroitz, which has been Cruising in Our Bay for several days past; and that the Selectmen (be) desired to present the same to him accordingly."

Several of the more wealthy merchants of Boston, to express their sense of this meritorious exploit, presented Capt. Tyng with a silver cup, weighing one hundred ounces and bearing this inscription :—¹

TO
EDWARD TYNG ESQUIRE
COMMANDER OF THE SNOW
PRINCE OF ORANGE
AS AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF
HIS GOOD SERVICE, DONE THE
TRADE, IN TAKING THE FIRST
FRENCH PRIVATEER,
ON THIS COAST, THE XXIV OF JUNE
MDCCXLIV, THIS PLATE IS PRESENTED
BY SEVERAL OF THE MERCHANTS
IN BOSTON
NEW ENGLAND.

This cup is still preserved and was owned, a few years ago, by a Mr. Hilliard of Bangor or Oldtown, Me. A cut of it, with portraits of Capt. Tyng and his wife, may be found in "Portland in the Past," by Nathan Goold.

The name of this French privateer is nowhere given, and no record has been found of her condemnation and sale, so that it is unknown how much prize money the crew of the "Prince of Orange" received for her cap-

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc's Coll., Ser. 1, Vol. x., p. 182.

ture; but, February 11, 1744-5, the Council authorized the payment to them of £267 for the capture of the crew, being £3 per man for 89 persons.¹ The fight was, perhaps, not so bloodless as at first reported, as the *Evening Post* of July 23 says: "We hear, that one of the Frenchmen now in Gaol here declared, that they had four of their Men kill'd in the late Engagement with Capt. Tyng, which they sewed up in Hammocks and threw overboard, before Capt. Tyng's Men entred their Vessel,"² but no confirmation of this has been found elsewhere. The prisoners were, probably, exchanged before October 20, 1744, when the Council ordered the payment of an account for lodging and board of Monsieur Delabroitz,³ of whom we learn no more.

During the rest of the season the "Prince of Orange" was employed in cruising off the coast and as a convoy of the troops sent to Annapolis Royal and of vessels bound for Europe, in which she was assisted by two other vessels in the employ of the Province, one commanded by Capt. Joseph Smethurst and the other by Capt. Sanders.⁴ Owing to the number of French privateers which were threatening navigation, the snow was, by advice of the Council, continued at sea until December 19, 1744, when she was laid up with her customary winter crew, and so continued until January 27, 1744-5 when Tyng was given the command of a new and larger vessel, the "Massachusetts Frigate," of 400 tons and 20 guns.⁵

Capt. Joseph Smethurst was given the command of the "Prince of Orange," which vessel it was decided to retain, after her return from the contemplated expedition against Louisbourg, as a "guard to the Fishery."⁶ Capt. Smethurst was obliged to resort to impressment to fill up his crew,⁷ which is said to have been mostly recruited from Marblehead.⁸ He took his vessel to Louisbourg in com-

¹ Appendix A, 59. ² *Ibid.* B, 36. ³ *Ibid.* A, 51. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 43, 49, 50; *Ibid.* B, 35-41. ⁵ *Ibid.* A, 52-54, 56, 61, 63; *Ibid.* B, 42. ⁶ *Ibid.* A, 57; *Ibid.* B, 42. ⁷ *Ibid.* A, 60.

⁸ Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, Vol. II., p. 422.

pany with the Colonial fleet and was about to return with her to Boston with several prizes taken from the enemy,¹ when she was lost sometime in the month of May, with all on board, "as it is suppos'd," say the official despatches of Sir William Pepperrell, "in a Storm as she was cruizing off the Harbour's Mouth, whereby there are unfortunately made about 50 disconsolate Widows in one of our Fishing Towns."²

The exact date of this disaster does not seem to have been known nor has any list of the officers and men on board at the time been preserved. November 28, 1745, the General Court voted four months' pay to the next of kin of all the members of the crew "who shall appear to the satisfaction of the Committee of War to have remained on board until the time she is supposed to have been lost"; "there being the greatest reason to presume that the 'Snow Prince of Orange,' in the pay of this Province, in the late Expedition, was lost some time in the month of May last, and there being no probability that the exact time of the Officers and Seamen on board said Snow were in actual service can ever be ascertained".³

Such, in brief, is the history of this vessel, creditable alike to the government which built and supported her and to her officers and crew. Though perhaps not the first American naval vessel, she was certainly the first to engage in a naval combat; and her memory is worth preservation as that of the forerunner of the present American navy, whose ships are no more American than was, though under another flag, the "Province Snow 'Prince of Orange' in his Majesty's service."

APPENDIX A.

EXTRACTS FROM MASSACHUSETTS ARCHIVES AND RECORDS OF THE COURT AND COUNCIL.

(1.) In the House of Representatives July 9, 1740 Voted, that the sum of £6500—be granted & paid out of the Province Treasury for the purchasing a suitable Vessel to guard the Coast and fitting her for the Sea

¹ Appendix B, 43. ² *Ibid.*, 44. ³ *Ibid.* A, 64.

and equipping her with twelve carriage and twelve Swivel Guns and all other warlike Stores, and that His Excellency be desired to give his orders accordingly, and also Voted, & Mr Hutchinson and Cap^t Watts together with such as the Honourable Board shall appoint be a committee to take care with the leave of the Cap^t General that the same be affected in the cheapest and best manner.——

Sent up for Concurrence

In Council July 10, 1740 Read & Concurred and Jacob Wendell & Richard Bill Esqr are joined in the affair.——

Consented to

J. Belcher.¹

(2.) At a Council held at y^e Council Chamber in Boston on Saturday the 12th of July 1740—

Pursuant to an Order of the General Court for granting the sum of £6500 for building a Vessel to guard the Coast &c

Advised & consented that a Warrant be made out to the Treasurer to advance and pay unto Jacob Wendell Esqr (one of the Committee for taking care of the building of the said Vessel) the sum of Two thousand pounds in Bills of y^e old Tenor to be employed for the said Service, to be paid out of the £18000 appropriation.²

(2a.) Tuesday July 29, 1740.

Advised & consented that a Warrant be made out to the Treasurer to advance and pay unto Jacob Wendell Esqr for the Committee appointed to provide a Guard Vessel the sum of Two Thousand Pounds to purchase Timber and other things for buildg the said Vessel to be paid in Bills of the old Tenour and out of the £18000 appropriation.³

(8.) Thursday the 31st of July 1740.

Advised that His Honour the Lt Govern^r issue out a Warrant for impressing Six Ship Carpenters to work on the Province Guard Vessel now building, directed to the Sheriff of the County of Suffolk.⁴

(4.) In Council Aug. 22, 1740.

The Deputy Secretary carried down the following Message from His Excellency to the House of Representatives viz^t

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives

The Vessel ordered to be built for the Protection of the Trade will be in the water in a few days. The Committee appointed for building and equipping her to the Sea, tell me the money ordered is not sufficient for the business. The Season of the Year is at hand when the Trade may be expecting their Ships and effects from all parts. It is therefore necessary to establish the pay of the Officers and Men for the said Ship, that she may be sent out with all Dispatch as some guard to our naked Coast.⁵

¹ Court Records, Vol. XVII., p. 220; Part 2, p. 387.

² Council Records, Vol. X., p. 326. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 408. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 409.

⁵ Court Records, Vol. XVII., Part 2, p. 326.

(5.) In Council, Aug. 23, 1740.

In the House of Representatives Ordered that the Committee appointed for building a suitable Vessel to guard the Coast &c be directed to consider what further sums are necessary to fit said vessel for the sea, as also a proper Establishment of the Pay for the Officers and Men and report as soon as may be.

In Council: Read and Concur'd

Consented to J. Belcher.¹

(6.) Monday Aug. 25, 1740.

Advised & consented that a Warrant be made out to the Treasurer to advance and pay unto the Committee for providing a Guard Vessel the sum of Two Thousand Pounds for the building and fitting the said Vessel to be paid in Bills of the old Tenor & out of the £18000 appropriation.²

(7.) In Council Aug. 29, 1740.

Jacob Wendell Esq^r from the Committee appointed to make an estimate of the charge of the Guard Vessel, reported as follows, viz:

The Committee appointed to Estimate the charge of building and fitting the vessel designed for the service of the Province report as their Opinion, That the said Vessel with her appurtenances fitted to the Sea in the most prudent manner, will cost (exclusive of Stores of War) at least Six Thousand five hundred pounds, the sum already granted by this Court for that purpose, and that the further sum of Three Thousand five hundred Pounds will be necessary in order to procure guns and other needful Warlike Stores for the said Vessel.

Which is humbly submitted:

By Order

Jacob Wendell.

In the House of Representatives Read and thereupon Voted that the sum of Three Thousand five hundred Pounds or so much thereof as may be necessary to procure Guns and other Warlike Stores for the Vessel designed for the service of the Province, be granted and paid out of the publick Treasury to the Committee appointed for building and fitting said Vessel to the Sea in order to compleat that Work: The Committee to be accountable for the same.

In Council: Read and Concur'd

Consented to J. Belcher.³

(8.) Province of the Massachusetts September 8th 1740—

The Committee Appointed to consider of a proper Establishment of the Pay of the Officers & men belonging to the Province Snow Report as their Opinion

That it will be convenient the following Officers give their constant

¹ Court Records, Vol. XVII., Part 2, p. 396.

² Council Records, Vol. X., p. 416.

³ Court Records, Vol. XVII., Part 2, p. 402.

attendance in the Service of the ^{sd} Snow & that they be allow'd the Wages following Viz^t:

The Captain at the Rate of Twenty Pounds ₧ Month
 The Lieutenant Ten Pounds . . ₧ D^o
 The Master Ten Pounds . . ₧ D^o
 The Boatswain Nine Pounds . . D^o
 The Gunner Ten Pounds . . D^o
 The Doctor Ten Pounds . . D^o
 Two Foremast Men at Six pounds ₧ Month Each

And that the Following Officers & men be in pay only when y^e Said Snow Shall be fitted out upon any Cruize or Expedition and be allowed the Wages following Viz^t:

The Chaplain at the Rate of Ten Pounds . . ₧ Month
 The Mate Eight Pounds . . ₧ D^o
 The Steward Seven Pounds . . D^o
 The Cook Seven Pounds . . D^o
 The Gunners Mate Seven Pounds . . D^o
 The Pilot Ten Pounds . . D^o
 The Boatswains Mate . . . Seven Pounds . . D^o
 The Carpenter Nine Pounds . . D^o
 The Cooper Seven Pounds . . D^o
 The Armourer Seven Pounds . . D^o

And the Sailors or Foremast Men Six Pounds . . D^o The number not to Exceed Ninety in all

All which is Humbly Submitted by order
 of the Committee
 Jacob Wendell

In Council Septem^r 9, 1740
 Read & Sent down ¹

On the reverse of this sheet is the following:—

In the House of Rep^lies Sep^r 10, 1740

Voted that the Following officers shall receive Constant Pay on board the Province Snow viz.

The Captain at the Rate of Twenty pounds ₧ Month
 The Gunner Ten pounds ₧ D^o
 The Boatswain Nine pounds D^o
 Two Foremast men Six pounds D^o

That the following Officers and Men be in Pay only when said Snow

¹ Mass. Archives, Vol. LXIII., 612.

shall be Fitted out upon any Cruise or Expedition, and be allowed the Wages following Vlz.

The Lieutenant at	Fourteen pounds	¥ Month
The Master	Twelve pounds	¥ D°
The Doctor	Twelve pounds	¥ D°
The Chaplain	Twelve pounds	D°
The Mate	Eight pounds	D°
The Steward	Seven pounds	D°
The Cook	Seven pounds	D°
The Gunners Mate	Seven pounds	D°
The Pilot	Ten pounds	D°
The Boatswains Mate . . .	Seven pounds	D°
The Carpenter	Nine pounds	D°
The Cooper	Seven pounds	D°
The Armourer	Seven pounds	D°
The Sailors or Foremast men	Six pounds	D°

The number not to exceed ninety.

Sent up for concurrence

J. Quincy Sp^{kr}

In Council Sept: 10 1740

Read and Concurr'd

J Willard Secry.

Consented to J Belcher ¹

(9.) In Council, Sept. 11, 1740.

In the House of Representatives Voted that the Establishment of the pay of the Captain, of the Gunner, of the Boatswain, and the two Foremast Men on the Province Snow, do not exceed the space of one year from the time they enter'd the Service

In Council: Read and Concurr'd

Consented to J. Belcher ²

(10.) Fryday Sept: 12, 1740.

Advised & consented that Warrants be made out to the Treasurer to pay out unto y^e Persons hereafter mentioned the following Grants & allowces to them respectively made by the Great and General Court or Assembly at their present Session held Aug 20, 1740 To be paid in Bills of the old Tenour & out of the £4993, 3, 6 appropriation. To the Committee of the Gen^l Court for providing a suitable vessel to Guard the Coast the sum of Three Thousand five hundred pounds for fitting the said Vessel &c.³

(11.) Monday the 29th of September 1740.

Advised & consented that a Warrant be made out to the Treasurer to advance and pay unto Jacob Wendell Esqr in behalf of the Committee for building and fitting a Guard Vessel the sum of Six Hundred Pounds in Bills of the old Tenor to be applied for that service, and to be paid out of the £18000 appropriation.⁴

¹ Mass. Archives, Vol. LXIII, 618; Court Records, Vol. XVII., pp. 228-30; Part 2, p. 425. ² Court Records, Vol. XVII., Part 2, p. 426.

³ Council Records, Vol. X., p. 431. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 438.

(12.) In Council Oct. 12, 1740.—

In the House of Representatives Voted that the sum of Fifteen Hundred Pounds (or so much as may be needful) part of the Appropriation of Eighteen Thousand Pounds in the Act for the Supply of the Treasury for Grants &c be applied for the purchasing Provisions and Payment of the wages of the Officers and Men on board the Province Snow.

In Council. Read and concur'd

Consented to J. Belcher.¹

(13.) At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston upon Monday the 9th of March 1740 (O. S.)

Advised that His Honour the Lieut^t Gov^r give orders that His Majestys Snow the Prince of Orange Captⁿ Edward Tyng Commander be fitted for the Sea as soon as may be, and

Voted that Jacob Wendell and Richard Bill Esq^r be a Committee to agree with Workmen, and to provide things necessary for the fitting the Snow for the Sea accordingly.²

(14.) In Council Apr. 1, 1741.

The Secretary carried down by His Excellencys Order a Memorial of Cpt Edward Tyng to His Excellency, moving that some provision may be made for paying the charge of victualling and manning His Majestys Snow the Prince of Orange, under his Command, with a Message from His Excellency that the House would take the matter into immediate consideration, it being of great importance to the interests of the Province.³

(15.) In Council, Apr. 3, 1741.

In the House of Representatives Voted that the sum of Two Thousand Nine Hundred Eighty Four Pounds and eight shillings, part of the £7200 Appropriation, be appropriated for the subsistence and Wages (according to the present Establishment) of the Officers and Seamen that shall be employed on Board the Province Snow the three months next ensuing.

In Council: Read and Cuncur'd.

Consented to J. Belcher.⁴

(16.) Warrants were consented to as follows by the Council, on acct of "His Majestys Snow the Prince of Orange," viz:—

Apr. 17, 1741⁵ £500 old tenor bills.

May 28, 1741⁶ £500 " " "

June 26, 1741⁷ £400 " " "

July 29, 1741⁸ £84:8 " " "

(17.) Prov: of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. By his Excellency Jonathan Belcher Esq^r Capⁿ Gen^l & Govern^r in Chelf in & over his Majestys Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England

¹ Court Records, Vol. XVII., Part 2, p. 428.

² Council Records, Vol. X., p. 502.

³ Court Records, Vol. XVII., Part 2, p. 528.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 542.

⁵ Council Records, Vol. X., p. 510. ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 517. ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 524. ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 530.

& Vice Adm. of y^e Same Whereas I am informed of Divers Spanish Privateers that are hovering on the Coast between this Province & the Capes of Virginia

You are hereby Ordered with the first Opportunity to sail with his Majesty's Snow the Prince of Orange under your Command on a Cruize betwixt Cape Sable on the East and the Capes of Delaware Southward for his Majesty's Service, & the better securing of Navigation & suppressing of any Ships or Vessells of the Enemy And if your Intelligence requires it, You have hereby Liberty to extend your said Cruize as much further Southward, & as far into the Sea as you shall think expedient; Your said Cruize to continue for the Space of five weeks when you are to return with his Majtys said Snow into this Harbour Given under my hand at Boston the first Day of June 1741, In the fourteenth Year of his Majestys Reign

J. Belcher¹

Endorsed on the back "Sailing Orders to C^t Tyng June 1, 1741."

(18.) Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. By his Excellency Jonathan Belcher Esq^r Captain General & Governor in Chelf in & over his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, & Vice Admiral of the Same.

You are hereby directed to proceed in his Majesty's Snow prince of Orange under your Command with the first fair Wind on a Cruize on the Coast of this Province *between Cape Cod to the Southward & Casco Bay to the Northward*, to continue about *three Weeks* on your Cruize; and if you find it necessary by any Intelligence you may have or otherwise to extend your Cruize as to time and place, or to return sooner, you are to use your Liberty as you shall judge will be most for the Service. Given under my hand at Boston the thirtieth day of July 1741, In the fifteenth Year of his Majesty's Reign

J. Belcher²

To Cpt Edward Tyng Commander of his Majesty's Snow Prince of Orange.

(19.) In Council, Oct. 1, 1741.

His Excellency communicated to the Board, a Memorial from Cpt. Edward Tyng, Commander of His Majesty's Snow the Prince of Orange; praying that His Excellency would give such directions that Provision may be made for victualling s^d Vessel and for the wages of himself and Company. And then the Secretary, by His Excellencys Order carried the Memorial down to the House, Recommending the same to their consideration.³

(20.) Province of Massachusetts Bay. By his Excellency William Shirley Esq^r Captain General & Governor in Chelf in & over his Majtys Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England.

You are hereby directed to proceed in his Majtys Snow Prince of

¹ Mass. Archives, Vol. LXIV., 89, 90.

² *Ibid.*, 103.

³ Court Records, Vol. XVII., Part 3, p. 121.

Orange under your Command with the first fair Wind on a Cruise on the Coast of this Province as far to the Eastward as St Georges River, Visting as many of the Harbours on the Eastern Coast as you conveniently can and as far to the Southward as you shall think will be most for the Service; to continue about a Month on your Cruise; and if you find it necessary by any Intelligence you may have, or upon any other Account to extend your ^{sd} Cruise as to time or Place, or to return sooner, you are to use your Liberty as will be most for the Security of the Navigation. Given under my hand at Boston the third day of Oct. 1741. In the fifteenth Year of his Majty's Reign

To Cpt Edwd Tyng¹

(21.) In Council, Dec. 7, 1741.

The Secretary carried down the following Message from His Excellency to the House of Representatives viz:

Gentlemen of the Council and House of Representatives

Having received information (which I now send you) of a Spanish Privateer designing for our Coast, I think it necessary to order Captain Tyng out in the province Snow for the protection of our navigation; but his company being discharged he must be furnished with men in some other way than what is usual; and therefore I would recommend it to you to consider of a premium for such of the enemy as may be taken or killed in (*sic*) Cpt Tyng should meet & engage with any such Vessel, and to grant the Captors the provence part of what may be taken.

Decemr 7, 1741

W. Shirley

In the House of Representatives Decr 7 1741 Read & Ordered that Col Dwight Mr Foster & Mr Godfrey with such as the Honble Board shall join be a committee to take the within message under consideration & report what they Judge proper for this Court to do thereon.

Sent up for concurrence

In Council Decr 8, 1741 Read and cuncurred and Jacob Wendell Richard Bill & John Read Esqrs are joined in the affair.

J Willard Secr'y²

(22.) In Council Dec. 12, 1741.

Jacob Wendell Esqr from the Committee on His Excellencys Message about the Spanish Privateers gave in the following Report, viz:

In obedience to the Order of this Court we have considered His Excellency's Message for furnishing Cpt Tyng in the Province Snow with men, and are of Opinion that his cruizing upon our Coast in the Depth of Winter is ordinarily impracticable and needless, but that he ought to be completely furnished and ready to sail by the middle of February, at the furthest; and in the mean time for the encouragement of men to enlist, an Act be made to allow the Captain Officers, and Ships Company, all such vessels Stores and goods as they shall take from the enemy and

¹ Massachusetts Archives, Vol. LXIV., 111.

² Court Records, Vol. XVII., p. 347; *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII., Part 3, pp. 157-8.

Ten Pounds per head old Tenor Bills or equivalent, for every man of the enemy taken or destroyed by them in any engagement with any ship of War or Privateer of the enemy by them taken or destroyed, the number of men and destruction of the Ship to be proved by three or more of the chief Officers before some chief Magistrate and by him certified; the said prizes and premiums to be divided to and among the Captain, Officers and Ships Company, vizt to the Captain three eighths, to the Lieutenant and Master one eighth, Warrant Officers one eighth, Petty Officers one Eighth, and Ships Company two eighths; and the Captain Officers and Ships Company to appoint their respective Agents for the receiving management and distribution of their respective Shares accordingly.

In the name and by Order of the Committee

Dec. 9, 1741.

Jacob Wendell

In the House of Representatives Read and Accepted.

In Council, Read and Concur'd

Consented to W. Shirley.¹

(23.) In Council, Dec. 24, 1741.

A Bill entitled An Act to encourage Men to Enlist themselves in the Province Snow, and more effectually to guard the Sea Coast during the present War with Spain:—

Having been read Three several times in the House of Representatives and there Pass'd to be engross'd

In Council; Read a First time

Read a Second time and Pass'd in Concurrence, Dec. 28.

Having been read Three several times in the House of Representatives and in Council

Pass'd to be Enacted by both Houses.² Dec. 29.

(24.) In Council Mch. 16, 1741, (O. S.)

£200 was voted "for paying arrearages due for fitting out" the Prince of Orange the last year and £200 "for laying in provisions" &c "for the service of this year."³

(25.) In the House of Representatives, March 23, 1741 (O. S.).

Voted that the Wages of the Capt of the Province Snow from the 20th of May next to the 20th of November next after shall be at the rate of five pounds ten Shillings per Month (*sic*, error for week) of the present Emission if the War continues—

The Lieutenant	p Month (<i>sic</i>)	£3.12
The Master	do	3. 2
The Doctor	do	3. 2
The Chaplain	do	3. 2
The Gunner	do	2.18
The Mate	do	2.10

¹ Court Records, Vol. XVII., Part 3, p. 172.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 120, 121, 125. The Bill may be found in the published Acts and Resolves, Vol. II., p. 1085.

³ Council Records, Vol. X., p. 585.

The Boatwain	p Month (<i>sic</i>)	2.15
The Steward	do	2. 5
The Cook	do	2. 5
The Gunners Mate	do	2. 5
The Pilot	do	2.18
The Boatswains Mate	do	2. 5
The Carpenter	do	2.15
The Cooper	do	2. 5
The Armourer	do	2. 5
The Cockswain	do	2. 5
The Quarter Master	do	2. 5
The Carpenters Mate	do	2. 5
Seventy Sailors or Foremast Men each		2.

Sent up for concurrence

In Council March 24, 1741 Read & concurred

Consented

W. Shirley¹

(26.) In Council, March 24, 1741 (O. S.)

Advised that his Excellency issue out a Warrant to Captⁿ Edward Tyng, Commander of his Majestys Snow the Prince of Orange, empowering him to impress so many Seaman as are necessary to make up his complement.²

(27.) The following warrants were consented to during the year, viz. :—

Apr. 6, 1742, £6 : 2 : 7 1/4 to pay balance due on a/c of building & fitting out the Province Snow.³

Apr. 15, 1742, £250 for provisions.⁴

Apr. 20, 1742, £11 : 9 and £11 : 5 : 5 to Shubal Gorham for "time and expence in raising and subsisting Seamen to supply the Province Snow in June last—and in March last."⁵

Apr. 24, 1742. £250 for fitting out Snow and purchasing provisions.⁶

June 1, 1742. £4 :— : 7 1/2 to Benjamin Marston for "impressing & subsist^r Seamen for the Province Snow in March last."⁷

June 8, 1742. £72 : 9 : 7 old tenor, for balance due for wages and provisions of Province Snow for year 1741. (£18 : 2 : 5 1/4 new tenor.)⁸

June 30, 1742. £18 : 10 : 2 3/4 to Jas. Warren for "raising and subsisting Seamen for His Majestys Snow ye^e Prince of Orange." £12 : 2 : 9 in June 1741, and £6 : 7 : 5 3/4 in March last.⁹

July 26, 1742. £250 for provisions and other stores.¹⁰

Aug. 25, 1742. £250 for fitting out and victualling.¹¹

Dec. 4, 1742. £414 : 10— for "wages due to company in His Maj-

¹ Court Records, Vol. XVII., p. 407; Part 3, p. 275.

² Council Records, Vol. X., p. 586. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 600. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 608. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 610.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 613. ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 623. ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 627. ⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 637. ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 647.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 649.

estys Service on Board Province Snow called the Prince of Orange" for service from the 11th of February 1741 (O. S.) to the 20th of May 1742 and—£1328 : 14 : 7 for ditto from 21st of May 1742 to the 20th of November 1742.¹

(28.) In Council, Apr. 15, 1742.

In the House of Representatives; Voted that the Establishment for Provisions of the following species shall be allowed the Officers and Sailors on board the Province Snow shall be to each man per week :—

Seven pounds weight of Bread, Seven gallons of Beer, Four pounds weight of Beef, Four pounds weight of Pork, one quart of Pease, one quart of Indian Corn

In Council: Read and Concur'd

Consented to W. Shirley.²

(29.) The following warrants were authorized in Council, viz. :—

Feb. 14, 1742 O. S. £54 : 12 : 2 for "Cord Woods necessary for the sick and other things" to Capt Tyng of the Province Snow.³

Feb. 14, 1742 O. S. £89 : 14 : 7 to Captⁿ Tyng for "victualling the Officers and Seamen belonging to the Snow Prince of Orange for year 1741" with allowance for advances.⁴

Feb. 28, 1742 O. S. £250 to John Wheelwright for "provisions and other stores for Province Snow."⁵

Mch. 28, 1742, O. S. £58 : 0 : 2 for wages to Feb. 8, 1742.⁶

Apr. 2, 1743. £69 : 8 : 2 for balance due to "Jacob Wendell in charge of fitting and victualling the Province Snow" out of £1018 : 2 : 5 total.⁷

Apr. 7, 1743. £8 : 19 : 1 to James Warren for "impressing Seamen for His Majestys Snow" and transporting them to Boston.⁸

Apr. 22, 1743. £16 : 18 : 9 to Shubal Gorham for similar service.⁹

July 16, 1743. £500 to John Wheelwright "to enable him to purchase and supply Provisions for victualling the Province Snow Prince of Orange, Captⁿ Edward Tyng Commander."¹⁰

Nov. 17, 1743. £1000 to Captain Edward Tyng "in part for wages due to the Officers and Seamen belonging to the Snow Prince of Orange under his command."¹¹

Dec. 28, 1743. £572 : 8 : 2 3/4 to John Wheelwright for "victualling" the Province Snow from March 1742/3 to Nov. 1743.¹²

¹ Council Records, Vol. X., p. 671.

² Court Records, Vol. XVII., Part 3, p. 340. An account of food for the Province Snow from Feb. 11, 1741, O. S., to Nov. 20, 1742, is preserved in Mass. Archives, Vol. LXXXIX., 188.

³ Council Records, Vol. XI., p. 13. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17. ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20. ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 26. ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28. ⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 34. ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 61. ¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 95. ¹² *Ibid.*, p. 109.

(30.) Cap^{tn} Edward Tyngs Acco^t with The Province For
 Victualling The Prince of Orange C^r

1742

C	q	lb	
To	63,, 8,, 22,,	Bread at £4 : p C ^t	255, , 14, , 8
	778 1/3 :	barrels Beer at 16/	622, , 18, , 4
	24 1/3 :	barrels Beef at £8	194, , 18, , 4
	13 3/4 :	Barrels Pork at £16	220, , —, , —
	50 :	Bushels Pease @ 25/	62, , 10
	68 :	Bushels Meal @ 14/	44, , 2
	2-barrels	Beef of Coll ^o Wendall stunk by y ^e Pickles	
		Leaking out & Good for nothing	16, ,
			<u>£1415, ; 18, , 4</u>

Suffolk ss Boston Feby 9, 1742/3

Sworne for the Above Acct and that there is due to the Accountant for victualling His Majesties Snow Prince of Orange for the Year 1742 according to the Establishment made by the Govern^t fourteen hundred and fifteen Pound 13/4 old Tenor before me

Jacob Wendall Just Pea :

N T 358, , 18, , 4

£1415 : 18 : 4

Bal of 1st acct £ 358 : 18 : 4

Disbursements £ 218 8 : 8

Boston Nov^r 20th 1742

Errors Excepted

£ Edwd Tyng¹

£1998 10 : 4

(31.) In Council, Mch. 23, 1742, O. S.

Advised that His Excellency issue out a Warrant to empower Captain Edward Tyng Commander of His Majestys Snow the Prince of Orange to impress such a number of Seamen as may be necessary for the Service.²

(32.) In the House of Rep^{res} April 14, 1743.

Voted that the present Establishment of Castle William and the other Forts Truck Houses and Garrisons within this Province and also of the Country Sloop and Province Snow which will end the twentieth of May next be and hereby is prolonged and continued till the end of the next May Session, And the several officers Soldiers and Sailors in the Service of the Province may expect their pay or allowance accordingly

Sent up for concurrence

T. Cushing Spkr

In Council Apr. 14, 1743

Read & Concur'd

J. Willard Secry

Consented to

W Shirley³

¹ Mass. Archives, Vol. LXXXIX., 192. See also *Ibid.*, 198.
 XI., p. 20. ² *Ibid.*, Vol. LXXII., 637.

³ Council Rec., Vol.

(83.) In Council, Oct. 10, 1748.

News being received by the Governor of prospective war with France; "Advised that his Excellency issue a Warrant to Captⁿ Edward Tyng, empowering him and directing him to impress thirty able bodied Seamen for His Majestys Service on Board the Province Snow Prince of Orange under his command."¹

(84.) In Council, Nov. 28, 1748.

"A Muster Roll of the Company of Officers and Seamen in His Majestys Service on board the Snow Prince of Orange Captⁿ Edward Tyng Comand^r containing an account of wages due to them for their Service from February 4, 1742 (O. S.) to November 10, 1748 amounting to the sum of £1661: 16: 10, advanced £1000, remains due £661: 16: 10," a warrant was authorized accordingly.² This muster roll has not yet been found.

(85.) To His Excellency William Shirley Esquire—Captain General Governour and Commander In Chelf, in & over his Majesties Province of The Massachusetts Bay, In New England, and to the Hon^{ble} the Councill, and House of Representatives, of The said Province in General Court Assembled at Boston November the 11th 1748:—

The Memoriall of Edward Tyng of Boston Esquire Commander of The Snow Prince of Orange Shews—That Your Memoriallist Apprehends it highly necessary In Order for the more Effectual fitting Out, & The well Manning of the said Snow, Prince of Orange That their should be Added to the Officers Already Established in pay by the Government, a Lieutenant and Doctor, and That Twelve Able Seamen at least should be kept in pay, without which Number it is Impossible to fit out said Vessell with Dispatch, For the want of a Lieutenant's being kept Constantly in pay, we Cant Expect a Man Equal to The post, but if we should have a Good One when he is Discharged in the Fall, we have a new One to Seek for in the spring; we Cant Get a Good Surgeon for want of being in Constant pay: These additional men will be able to rigg & fitt The Vessell, then we shall have no Occasion to Hire Men for that Use, nor do I think we shall have Occasion to Impress any from the Severall County's as formerly, which has Occasioned Great Charge to The Province—All which is Humbly Submitted to the Wisdom of this Great & General Court and Your Memoriallist (as in duty bound) shall Ever pray &c^a

Edwd Tyng

I recommend the Consideration of this Memorial to the General Court
Novembr 11, 1748

W Shirley

—(On back)—

In the House of Rep^{res} Nov^r 11 1748

¹ Council Records, Vol. XI., p. 79.

² *Ibid.*, p. 100.

Read and in answer Ordered that a Lieutenant be added to the offices in constant pay as already established

Sent up for concurrence

T Cushing Spkr

In Council Nov: 10, 1748 Read & Concurd

J Willard Secy

Consented to,

W. Shirley¹

(36.) In Council, Mch. 6, 1748, (O. S.)

"A Muster Roll presented by Captn Edward Tyng Commander of His Majestys Snow Prince of Orange, containing an Accompt of Wages due to himself & company for their service from 11th of November to the fifth of February 1748, (O. S.) Amounting to the sum of £66:9:11," a warrant for its payment was issued accordingly.² This muster roll has not yet been found.

(37.) In the House of Rep^{ves} March 20 1748:

Voted that the officer for victualling the Province Snow be directed to provide Flower and Rice in Lieu of Indian Meal

Sent up for concurrence

T Cushing Spkr

In Council March 20 1748

Read & concur'd J Willard Secy

Consented to

W. Shirley³

(38.) In Council, Mch. 28, 1744.

A warrant for £300 to John Wheelwright was authorized "for purchasing Provisions for victualling the Province Snow Captn Edward Tyng Commander."⁴

(39.) In Council, Apr. 9, 1744.

Advised that His Excellency issue out a Warrant to Captn Edward Tyng Comand^r of His Majestys Snow the Prince of Orange for impressing so many Seamen as he shall think necessary for manning the said Snow, no men to be taken out of Coasters Fishing Vessels or Vessels outward bound.⁵

(40.) In Council Apr. 16, 1744.

A warrant for £75 was authorized to "Captn Edward Tyng to assist him in enlisting Seamen for His Majestys Snow the Prince of Orange by giving advanced wages."

Apr. 18, 1744.

An Indent presented by Captn Edward Tyng of sundry things neces-

¹ Mass. Archives, Vol. LXIV., 236, 237; Court Records, Vol. XVII., Part 4, p. 217.

² Council Records, Vol. XI., p. 137.

³ Mass. Archives, Vol. LXIV., 239; Court Records, Vol. XVII., Part 4, p. 242.

⁴ Council Records, Vol. XI., p. 147.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

sary for the equipping the Province Snow Prince of Orange under his Command Read &

Voted that Mr John Wheelwright be & hereby is directed to procure the several things contained in the said Indent for the fitting & equipping of the Snow Prince of Orange.¹

(41.) In Council, May 14, 1744.

News of the Declaration of War with France was announced to the Council.²

A warrant was authorized for £137:7:9 to Mr. John Wheelwright for stores for the Province Snow.³

(42.) In Council, June 2, 1744.

His Excellency having received His Majestys Declaration of War against the French King, with his Orders for publishing the same within this Province, he communicated the same to the Board.⁴

(43.) In Council, June 4, 1744.

A boat of abt 100 tons with 8 six pounders and 12 swivel guns & 80 men was recommended to "further guard the coast."⁵

(44.) In Council, June 8, 1744.

The Secretary delivered the following Message from His Excellency to both Houses vizt

Gentlemen of the Council & House of Representatives.

As the General Court of this Province at their Session held in November 1741 pass'd an Act to encourage Men to enlist themselves in the Province Snow, and more effectually to guard the Sea Coast during the present War with Spain; and as His Majesty has now entered into a War with the French King, it seems necessary that we should give the like encouragement to Captures that may be made of Ships and Vessels belonging to the French Kings vassals and subjects; and if we extend it to private Ships and Vessels of War and Trading Vessels that have Letters of Marque or Commissions from other English Governments, for all such captures as may be made upon the Coasts of this Province it may be attended with effects beneficial to this Province.

And therefore I must recommend it to you to pass such an Act as soon as may be.

In the House of Representatives Read and Ordered that Mr. Clap, Dr Hale and Mr Oliver, with such as the Hon^{ble} Board shall join, be a Committee to take this Message under consideration, and Report what they judge proper for this Court to do thereon.

In Council: Read and Concur'd, and William Brown and Eleakim Hutchinson Esq^{rs} are joined in the affair.⁶

¹ Council Records, Vol. XI., p. 150.

² *Ibid.*, p. 153.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁴ Court Records, Vol. XVII., Part 4, p. 390.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 393.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 402.

(45.) In Council, June 18, 1744.

A bill entitled An Act for the more effectual guarding and securing our Sea Coast, Read a First time.¹

June 15, 1744. Ditto "Read a Second time, and pass'd to be engrost."²

(46.) In Council, June 19, 1744.

An Engros'd Bill entitled An Act for the more effectual guarding and securing our Sea Coasts and for the encouragement of Seamen to enlist themselves in the Province Snow, or such Vessels of War, as shall be commissioned and fitted out by this or other of His Majestys Governments during the present War with France:—Having been read Three several times in the House of Representatives and in Council

Pass'd to be Enacted by both Houses, and Signed by the Governour.³

(47.) At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston on Monday June 25th 1744 Sitting the General assembly

Advised that His Excellency give Orders to Mr John Wheelwright to furnish Captⁿ Edward Tyng Commander of the Province Snow Prince of Orange with whatsoever may be necessary for his intended Cruize.⁴

(48.) In Council, July 17, 1744.

A warrant was authorized for £500 to John Wheelwright for "provisions furnished the Province Snow Prince of Orange."⁵

(49.) In Council, Oct. 15, 1744.

The Governor proposed "to send Captⁿ Tyng in the Province Snow the Prince of Orange, & Captain Smethurt in the Brigantine Boston Packet," to Annapolis and it was

"Advised that His Excellcy give orders to the said Capt Tyng and Capt Tyng (*etc*) to proceed on the said Design accordingly

And His Excellency likewise comunicated to the Council the Instructions he had proposed to give Captⁿ Tyng for his conduct in the affair."⁶

(50.) In Council, Oct. 16, 1744.

The Transport Sloop Massachusetts was also ordered sent to Annapolis Royal.⁷

¹ Court Records, Vol. XVII., Part 4, p. 411.

² *Ibid.*, p. 414.

³ Court Records, Vol. XVII., Part 4, p. 423. The Bill may be found in the published Acts and Resolves, Vol. III., p. 143. It provides that the Officers and Company of vessels of war commissioned by this government shall have sole interest "in all and every ship, vessel, goods and merchandize" taken after the 1st of June, 1744 during the present war with France, and further, when any vessel of war or privateer shall have been taken, sunk, burnt or otherwise destroyed, £3 for every man taken or killed, and the prizes, after paying impost duties, shall be divided among the captors. And to vessels of other governments, for ships of war taken between Nantucket and Seconnet on the South and Canso on the North, head money is granted of £3.

⁴ Council Records, Vol. XI., p. 175.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 238, 239.

(51.) In Council, Oct. 30, 1744.

"An Accompt presented by Henry Johnson, of the Charge of Lodging and Diet for Mr Dolabarate late Commander of the French Privateer brought in by the Province Snow, amounting to the sum of £6:15," a warrant was authorized for its payment.¹

(52.) At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston on Saturday the 17th of November 1744—

Advised that His Excellency send the Province Snow upon a Cruize, and that the whole Company belonging to her be kept in pay until the Meeting of the General Court.²

(53.) In Council, Dec. 18, 1744.

John Osborne Esq^r and others went down on a message from the Board to the House of Representatives to propose that they would reconsider their Vote of the fourth Instant relating to the Province Snow—

The following Message was brought up from the House of Representatives by Joseph Richards Esq^r and others, viz:

"That the House having taken into Consideration the Message sent them from the Honble Board in the Morning, on the Houses Vote of the fourth Instant, relating to the pay and subsistence of certain Officers &c on board the Province Snow can't but reflect" *etc.*³

(54.) In Council, Dec. 19, 1744.

In the House of Representatives voted that Pay and Subsistence be allowed from this time to the Captain, Lieutenant, Boatswain, Gunner and two Sailors only, on board the Province Snow, till the further Order of this Court.

In Council; Read and Concur'd

Consented to W. Shirley⁴

(55.) In Council, Dec. 24, 1744.

"A Muster Roll presented by Captain Edward Tyng Commander of the Province Snow the Prince of Orange, containing an acct of Wages due to himself and Company for y^r Service from February 6, 1743 (O. S.) to November 20th 1744 amounting to the Sum of £1877.17.6 advanced £75, Remains due £1802.17.6." A warrant was authorized to pay the same.⁵

This Muster Roll has not been found.

(56.) In Council, Jan. 4, 1744 (O. S.)

His Excellency sent a message to the House concerning establishment of a more powerful ship of war than the Province Snow " (tho in many respects a good vessel for the service of the war) is not of strength sufficient for the force we must expect the enemy will send against us," and suggests selling the snow and buying a bigger vessel.⁶

¹ Council Records, Vol. XI., p. 245.

² *Ibid.*, p. 262.

³ Court Records, Vol. XVII., Part 4, p. 586. The vote referred to cannot be found.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 592.

⁵ Council Records, Vol. XI., p. 271.

⁶ Court Records, Vol. XVII., Part 4, p. 615.

(57.) In Council, Feb. 1, 1744, (O. S.)

In the House of Representatives Voted that His Excellency be desired to employ the Province Snow Prince of Orange, upon her return from the intended Expedition, as a Guard to the Fishery.

In Council: Read and Concur'd

Consented to W. Shirley¹

(58.) In Council, Feb. 8, 1744 (O. S.)

A warrant was authorized to advance "unto the Committee for the War the sum of Two hundred and fifty pounds, towards the purchasing of a ship for the service of this Province, pursuant to an order of the General Court."²

(59.) At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston upon Monday the 11th of February 1744 (O. S.)

An Accompt presented by Messrs Green & Boylstone Agents for the Officers and Seamen belonging to the Province Snow, of Bounty due to them for taking the Privateer Sloop commanded by Mons^r Delaborats and her company, consisting of Eighty Nine Persons, at Three pounds per man, amounting in the whole to the sum of £267, -, ,

Advised and Consented that a Warrant be made out to the Treasurer to pay unto the said Green and Boylston for the use of the said Officers and Seamen the above mentioned sum of Two Hundred and sixty-seven Pounds, to discharge the said acct pursuant to Law.³

(60.) In Council, Feb. 13, 1744 (O. S.)

A Warrant was advised to "Cpt Joseph Smethurst" to impress Seamen for Snow Prince of Orange "under his command."⁴

(61.) In Council, Mch. 8, 1744, (O. S.)

A Memorial of Cpt Edward Tyng late Commander of the Province Snow the Prince of Orange, showing that the Establishment of the Wages of himself and Company, ended the 19th of November last, at which time he was upon a Cruise at Sea, by His Excellencys order, and had no Order from the Governor to discharge the Ships Company till the 19th of December following; praying that the Establishment may be continued until that time.

In the House of Representatives Read, & it Appearing that the said Snow was not returned from her Cruise on the 19th of November last, when according to the Establishment of this Court she ought to have been discharged, and that after her return the danger of our Navigation from Privateers on the Coast was apprehended so great as to bring under consideration of this Court the expediency of prolonging that Establishment, so that the men were not actually discharged till the 19th of December after:—Therefore

Voted that Cpt Tyng be allowed to make up his Muster Roll to the

¹ Court Records, Vol. XVII., Part 4, p. 671.

² Council Records, Vol. XI., p. 306. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 310. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

said Nineteenth of December as if the Establishment had extended to that time.

In Council: Read and Concur'd

Consented to W Shirley ¹

(62.) In Council, Mch. 8, 1744, (O. S.)

"A Muster Roll presented by Cpt Edward Tyng late Commander of the Province Snow Prince of Orange, containing an Accompt of Wages due to himself and Company from the 21st of November 1744 to the 19th of December following, amounting to the sum of £218.4.4." A warrant was authorized for the same.²

This Muster Roll has not been found.

(63.) In Council, Mch. 9, 1744, (O. S.)

"A Muster Roll presented by Cpt Edward Tyng late commander of the Province Snow Prince of Orange, containing an Accompt of Wages due to himself and company for their service from the 20th of December to the 27th of January 1744 (O. S.) amounting to the Sum of £36.11.3." A warrant was authorized for the payment of the same.³

This Muster Roll has not been found.

(64.) In Council, Nov. 28, 1745.

In the House of Representatives: There being the greatest reason to presume that the Snow Prince of Orange, in the pay of this Province, in the late Expedition, was lost some time in the month of May last, and there being no probability that the exact time the Officers and Seamen on board said Snow were in actual service can ever be ascertained:

It is therefore Voted that there be allowed for the service of each person who shall appear to the satisfaction of the Committee of War to have remained on board until the time she is supposed to have been lost, four months wages; & that the Committee cause the same to be paid to the next of Kin where no Executor or Administrator shall appear, deducting such sums as have already been advanced; also reserving or allowing out of each Persons Wages for any just or reasonable supplies that may have been made such person by Cpt. Smethurst or any person on his behalf; the money reserved to be paid to the legal Representatives of the said Cpt. Smethurst

In Council, Read and Concur'd

Consented to S: Phips ⁴

¹ Court Records, Vol. XVII., Part 4, p. 704.

² Council Records, Vol. XI., p. 339.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

⁴ Court Records, Vol. XVII., Part 5, p. 171.

(65.) Muster Roll for his Majesties Snow Prince of Orange Commencing from The 26th November; 1740:¹

Mens Names	Quality	Time of Entry	Wag. ^d p Month	Time of Discharge	Time of Service	Total Wages
Edw. ^d Tyng	Captain	Nov 26	£20	Mar: 9:	3 . . 20: .	74, , 5, , 9
Jn. Turner	Bosswin	. . . 26	£9 . . . . .	. . . 9:	3 . . 20: .	33, , 8, , 7
Jn. ^o Oldfield	Gunner	. . . 26	£10 . . . .	. . . 9:	3 . . 20: .	37, , 2, , 10
Sim. ⁿ Remington	Foremast	. . . 26	£6 . . . . .	. . . 9:	3 . . 20: .	23: 5: 9
Syphax, Negro	Ditto	. . . 26	£6 . . . . .	. . . 9:	3 . . 20: .	23: 5: 9
Ja. ^s Nutting	Armourer	Feb: 16	£7 . . . . .	. . . 9:	. . . 22	5: 10
				Ex ^d p J W	19: 10	£: 194, , 16, , 8

Errors Excepted March ye 9th 1740
by Edwd TyngSworn Exam'd & allow'd
p ye Committee

JJ

£48: 14: 8

Payment of the foregoing Muster Roll was ordered in Council, Mch. 4, 1741 (O. S.)²¹ Mass Archives, Vol. XCI., 351.² Council Records, Vol. X., p. 580.

(86.) A Muster Roll of the Company in His Majesty's Service under the Command of Edward Tyng
Captain viz. 1741.

Mens Names N ^o : 1	Quality	Time of entry on the Service	Till what Time in the Service	Whole Time of Service	Days	Wages per Month	Balance Due to each man
Edward Tyng	Captain	Mar. 10	Nov 11	mos. 8 dys. 23	247	20	2 ^s 176: 8: 6 ^d
Thos: Rappitt	Lieutenant	9	July 28	5 2	142	14	71:
John Oldfeldt	Gunner	10	Nov 11	8 28	247	10	88: 4: 8
John Turner	Bosswin	10	11	8 28	247	9	79: 7: 10
Tho: Tomson	Carpenter	9	July 19	4 21	138	9	42: 15:
Tho: Fayrw ^r	Steward	9	Nov 11	8 24	248	7	63:
W: Nelson	Pilot	9	July 28	5 2	142	10	50: 14: 4
Ja: Nutting	Armourer	10	Apr ^l . 29	1 23	51	7	13: 15:
Eleaz: Parker	Cook	9	Nov 11	8 24	248	7	63:
Syphax, a Negro	Foremast	10	11	8 28	247	6	53: 18: 6
Jos: Carille	Ditto	9	11	8 24	248	6	53: 2: 9
David Hunt	Ditto	9	11	8 24	248	6	53: 2: 9
John Steward	Ditto	9	Sept 28	7 3	199	6	42: 12: 9
Dan: Gibbins	Ditto	9	Nov 11	8 24	248	6	53: 2: 9
Rich: Felrce	Ditto	9	July 19	4 21	138	6	28: 10:
John Crofts	Ditto	9	Nov 11	8 24	248	6	53: 2: 9

^d R: Tarr S:	Ditto	Nov 11	8	21	245	6	52: 10:
^d R: Tarr J:	Ditto	Nov 11	8	21	245	6	52: 10:
Otnel Tarr	Apr: 12	Nov 11	7	18	214	6	45: 17:
John, a Negro	Mar 12	Nov 11	8	21	245	6	52: 10:
Parker Gowell	18	11	8	15	239	6	51: 4: 3
John Gowell	18	11	8	15	239	6	51: 4: 3
John Stonham	19	11	8	14	238	6	51:
John Charnock	19	Apr: 29	1	14	42	6	9:
^r Eb: Lawrence	28	Nov 11	8	10	284	6	50: 2: 9
ⁿ Sam Ellvill	26	July 28	4	13	125	7	31: 5:
Ditto	July 29	Nov 11	3	22	106	10	37: 17: 2
^m W: Wright	Mar 27	Nov 11	8	6	280	6	49: 5: 9
^o Jn: Roney	Apr: 1	Sep 24	6	9	177	7	44: 5:
^o Jn: Oswell	1	Nov 11	8	1	225	7	56: 5:
Dan Merchant	2	11	8		224	6	48:
Jab: Merchant	2	May 14	1	15	43	6	9: 4: 3
Benj: Stoddard	2	July 28	4	6	118	12	50: 11: 6
Ditto	July 29	Nov 11	3	22	106	14	53:
Nath Prentice	Apr: 2	11	8		224	6	48:
— Exams & J. W.			242	19			£1825: 9: 1

— Exams & R B

¹ Mass. Archives, Vol. XCI., 332.

(67.) 1741. ¹ A Muster Roll of the Company in His Majesty's Service under the Command of Edward Tyng Captain viz.

Mens Names N ^o . 2.	Quality	Time of entry on the Service	Till what Time in the Service	Whole Time of Service	Days	Wages per Month	Balance Due to each man
Thos ^s Maccarty	Chaplain	Apr: 4 ^u	Nov 11	7 ^{mos.} 26 ^{dys.}	222	12 ^s	2 ^s 95: 2: 10 ^d
David Stevens	Mate	7	May 21	1 17	45	8	12: 17: 8
Ja ^s Carter	Foremast	March 26 ^u	Nov 11	8 7	231	6	49: 10
Aaron Deale	Doctor	Apr: 13 ^u	11	7 17	218	12	91: 5: 9
W ^m Groce	Cooper	4	11	7 26	222	7	55: 10:
Mich: Hurd	Foremast	17	11	7 13	209	6	44: 15: 9
W ^m Sketchley	Ditto	17	11	7 13	209	6	44: 15: 9
W ^m Smith	Ditto	17	11	7 13	209	6	44: 15: 9
Benj ^a : White ⁿ	Ditto	18	11	7	7	6	1: 10:
Emanuel, Ind:	Ditto	18	Apr: 24 ^t	4	112	6	24:
W ^m Bowman	Ditto	18	Aug: 7 ^u	7	7	6	1: 10:
Ph ^p : Carr	Ditto	18	Apr: 24 ^u	3 5	89	6	19: 1: 4
Franc. Bridges	Ditto	19	July 15	3 4	88	6	18: 17: 1
Tho ^s : Leatherby	Ditto	19	15	7 11	207	6	44: 7: 2
John Smith	Ditto	19	Nov 11	7 11	207	6	44: 7: 2
James Dyer	Ditto	19	Nov 11	1 11	39	6	8: 7: 2

Sam: Steward	Ditto	Apr 19	May 26	1	10	38	6	8: 2: 10
Sam: Kendrick	Ditto	19	26	1	10	38	6	8: 2: 10
Johnson Jackson	Carp: mate	23	July 19	3	4	88	7	22:
Ditto	Carpenter	July 20	Nov 11	4	3	115	9	36: 19: 3
Peter Read	Coxon & Quart: mast:	Apr: 23	Aug: 14	4	2	114	7	28: 10:
Jam Shannon	Foremast	23	28	4	16	128	6	27: 8: 6
John Grant	Ditto	23	Nov 11	7	7	203	6	43: 10:
Hugh Carral	Ditto	23	May 16		24	24	6	5: 2: 9
James Cash	Ditto	23	Nov 11	7	7	203	6	43: 10:
James M'Neale	Ditto	23	Nov 11	7	7	203	6	43: 10:
Tho: Walker	Ditto	23	May 6		14	14	6	8:
W: Alcock	Ditto	23	Nov 11	7	7	203	6	43: 10:
Rob: How	Ditto	23	Apr 30		8	8	6	1: 14: 3
W: Lusk	Ditto	23	30		8	8	6	1: 14: 3
Tho: Hewing	Ditto	23	30		8	8	6	1: 14: 3
Nath: Dockum	Ditto	24	July 19	8	8	87	6	18: 12: 10
Geo: Meesurvey	Ditto	24	May 23	1	2	30	6	6: 8: 7
Ja: Whetstone	Ditto	24	11		18	18	6	8: 17: 2
Ex & JW				187	10			£ 948: 0: 6

— Exam^d R. B.¹ Mass. Archives, Vol. XCI., 353.

(66.) A Muster Roll of the Company in His Majesty's Service under the Command of Edward Tyng
Captain viz¹ 1741

Mens Names N ^o 8	Quality	Time of entry on the Service	Till what Time in the Service	Whole Time of Service	Days	Wages per Month	Balance Due to each man
James Freetoe	Sailor	Apr: 24 ¹¹	Nov 11	7 ^{mon.} 6 ^{dy.}	202	6 ^z	43: 5: 9 ^d
Tho: Minnis	Ditto	27	May 24	1	28	6	6:
Tho: Tear	Ditto	27	24	1	28	6	6:
Sam: Keeland	Ditto	29	Nov 11	7	197	6	42: 4: 8
John Bishop	Ditto	29	Sep 1 ^r	4	136	6	27:
Sam: Shaw	Ditto	29	June 26	2	59	6	12: 12: 9
John Bassett	Ditto	May 1	26	2	57	6	12: 4: 8
Alex: Gordon	Ditto	1	Aug 19	3	111	6	28: 15: 9
Tho: Boyles	Ditto	1	Nov 11	6	195	6	41: 15: 9
Ja: Hastings	Ditto	1	11	6	195	6	41: 15: 9
John Carrall	Ditto	1	11	6	195	6	41: 15: 9
Roger Crewley	Ditto	4	May 21	18	18	6	8: 17:
W: Williams	Ditto	4	21	18	18	6	.8: 17:
Ph: Lacordey	Ditto	5	Nov 11	6	191	6	40: 18: 6

¹ Mass. Archives, Vol. XCI., 364.

Benj ^a : Codner	Ditto	May 5	Nov 11	6	23	191	6	40: 18: 6
John Sevorey	Ditto	5	11	6	23	191	6	40: 18: 6
James Murry	Ditto	5	11	6	23	191	6	40: 18: 6
Tho: Kimball	Ditto	5	11	6	23	191	6	40: 18: 6
W: Harris ^m	Ditto	5	11	6	23	191	6	40: 18: 6
Geo: Forgeron	Ditto	5	May 22		18	18	6	3: 17:
Colley Wright ^d	Ditto	5	July 24	2	25	81	6	17: 7:
Edw: Hamond ^o	Ditto	5	Nov 11	6	23	191	6	40: 18: 6
Anth: Dyer ^s	Ditto	11	11	6	17	185	6	39: 12: 9
Amb: Hinckley	Ditto	11	June 24	1	17	45	6	9: 12: 9
Barn: March ^u	Ditto	11	Nov 11	6	17	185	6	39: 12: 9
Sam: Rider ^o	Ditto	11	11	6	17	185	6	39: 12: 9
Jn: Tuneagin ^o	Ditto	11	Aug 4	3	2	86	6	18: 8: 6
Jn: Hyson ^d	Ditto	11	Nov 11	6	17	185	6	39: 12: 9
Seal: Landres ^m	Ditto	11	11	6	17	185	6	39: 12: 9
W: Bassett ^o	Ditto	11	11	6	17	185	6	39: 12: 9
Jn: Goodspeed ^b	Ditto	11	11	6	17	185	6	39: 12: 9
Jos: Pitts ⁱ	Ditto	11	11	6	17	185	6	39: 12: 9
Sam: Fairfield ^h	Ditto	14	Sep 11	4	9	131	6	25: 18: 6
Manass: Donham	Ditto	14	Nov 11	6	14	182	6	39:

(66.) 3.—Continued.

Mens Names	Quality	Time of entry on the Service	Till what Time in the Service	Whole Time of Service	Days	Wages per month	Balance Due to each man
Patrick Power	Ditto	May 14	July 23	mos. 2 ¹ / ₂ 14 ¹ / ₂	70	6	\$ 15 ⁴ / ₁₆
Jos: Connett	Ditto	14	Oct 17	5 17	157	6	33: 12: 9
Sam: Clarke	Ditto	15	July 23	2 15	71	6	15: 4: 3
Tho: Lathrope	Ditto	15	Nov 11	6 13	181	6	38: 15: 9
Math: Danford J: ^r	Ditto	15	11	6 13	181	6	38: 15: 9
Math: Danford S: ^r	Ditto	15	11	6 13	181	6	38: 15: 9
Zach: Davis	Armo ^r	15	Aug: 23	3 16	100	9	25:
Exam ^d & B. B		Ex ^d JW		204 8			1239: 3: 6

(67.) A Muster Roll of the Company in His Majesty's Service under the Command of Edward Tyng Captain Vlz. 1741.

Mens Names	Quality	Time of entry on the Service	Till what Time in the Service	Whole Time of Service	Days	Wages per Month	Balance due to each man
Jacob Pike	Sailor	May 20	June 24	mos. 1 ¹ / ₂ 8 ¹ / ₂	36	\$ 6	\$ 9: 14: 3 ⁴ / ₁₆
Jos: Vesey	Ditto	20	Nov. 11	6 8	176	6	37: 14: 3

¹ Mass. Archives, Vol. XCI., 866.

Geo Wolsinghulmes	Ditto	20	Sep 10	4	2	114	6	24: 8: 6
Jos: Dyer	Ditto	27	July 10	1	17	45	6	9: 12: 9
Sam: Dyer	Ditto	27	Nov 11	6	1	169	6	36: 4: 3
Ed: Thorndike	Ditto	27	11	6	1	169	6	36: 4: 3
John Wesson	Ditto	July 22	Sep 25	2	10	66	6	14: 2: 9
John Gardner	Ditto	22	Aug 27	1	9	37	6	7: 18: 6
Man: a Serv: ¹	Ditto	22	14		24	24	6	5: 2: 9
Jeffry Jackson	Ditto	27	Nov 11	3	24	108	6	23: 2: 9
John Sopen	Mate	22	July 28		7	7	8	2: 2:
Ditto	Master	29	Nov 11	3	23	106	12	45: 8: 7
Sam: Gaines	Sailor	Aug ^t 20	Nov 11	3		84	6	18:
Jos: Brimhall	Ditto	20	11	3		84	6	18:
Tho: Woodard	Ditto	20	11	3		84	6	18:
Stephen Otis	Ditto	20	11	3		84	6	18:
John Muggue	Ditto	20	11	3		84	6	18:
James Nutting	Armourer	23	11	2	25	81	7	20: 5:
Josiah ¹	Sailor	19	11	3	1	85	6	18: 4: 2
Edward Oliver	Ditto	July 20	11	4	3	115	6	24: 12: 9
Geo. Messervey	Ditto	Aug ^t 20	11	3		84	6	18:

¹ Name torn out.

(87.) 4.—Continued.

Mens Names	Quality	Time of entry on the Service	Till what Time in the Service	Whole Time of Service	Days	Wages per month	Balance Due to each man
Zach ⁿ : Davis	Ditto	17	11	moa. 3 3	87	2	2 18: 12: 9
John Wesson	Boats ^{as} mate	Sep 26	11	1 19	47	7	11: 15:
Phill ^p : Harris	Sailor	30	11	1 15	48	6	9: 4: 3
Alex ^r : Gordon	Quartermaster	Aug 20	11	3	84	7	21:
		Ex & J W		75. 3			£481: 7: 7
		Brought from Roll No 1		242. 19			1825: 9: 1
		2		187. 10			948: — 6
		3		204. 8			1229: 3: 6
				659. 12			£4484: —: 8
				received of ye Committee			1879: 3: 4
				Old Tennor			£3104: 17: 4

Examd & R. B.
Sworn & allowd & ye Committee

J J N S: F 11 U—a

Boston Novemr 11th 1741

Errors Excepted

& Edward Tyng

New Tennor £776: 4: 4

(68.) A Muster Roll of the Company in his Majesty's Service under the Command of Edward Tyng Captain viz.¹

Mens Names N: 1	Quality	Time of entrance in the Service	Till what Time in the Service	Whole Time of Service	Wages per Month	Balance Due to each man
Edward Tyng ^d	Captain	Mos. Dys. Feb. 11	Mos. Dys. May 20	Wks. Dys. 3: 15	l. s. d. 20:	l. s. d. 70,,14,,4
Rich: Hayden ^t	Lient	11	20	3: 15	14:	49,,10,,-
Will: Loud ^m	Master	11	20	3: 15	12:	42,, 8,,7
Corn: Lynch ^s	Mate	11	Apr. 7	2:	8:	16,,—,,-
John Oldfeld ^d	Gunner	11	May 20	3: 15	10:	35,, 7,,2
W: Rouse ^m	Boatswin	11	20	3: 15	9:	31,,16,,5
David Hunt	Steward	11	20	3: 15	7:	24,,15,,-
Nath: Prentice ⁱ	Able	11	20	3: 15	6:	21,, 4,,4
Darby Meloney	D: ^o	11	20	3: 15	6:	21,, 4,,4
James Nutting ^r	Arm:	11	20	3: 15	7:	24,,15,,-
John Bond	Able	11	20	3: 15	6:	21,, 4,,4
W: Smith ^m	D: ^o	11	20	3: 15	6:	21,, 4,,4
W: Gross ^m	Cooper	11	20	3: 15	7:	24,,15,,-
John Martin	Able	11	20	3: 15	6:	21,, 4,,4
John Negurs	D: ^o	11	20	3: 15	6:	21,, 4,,4
Rob: Jarvis	D: ^o	11	20	3: 15	6:	21,, 4,,4
Syphax, a Serv: ^{tt}	D: ^o	11	20	3: 15	6:	21,, 4,,4
John Powers	D: ^o	11	20	3: 15	6:	21,, 4,,4
John Francisco	D: ^o	20	20	3: 6	6:	19,, 5,,8
John Allen	D: ^o	25	20	3: 1	6:	18,, 4,,4
Martin Marrow	Cook	25	20	3: 1	7:	21,, 5,,-
Eb: Allen ^r	Able	27	20	2: 27	6:	17,,15,,8
Sam: Thorndike ⁱ	D: ^o	Mar. 1	20	2: 25	6:	17,, 7,,2
Eben: Lawrence ^r	D: ^o	1	20	2: 25	6:	17,, 7,,2
John Briant	D: ^o	2	Apr. 2	1: 4	6:	6,,17,,2
William Norton	D: ^o	4	May 20	2: 22	6:	16,,14,,4
Geo: Pastry ^o	D: ^o	8	Apr. 16	1: 12	6:	8,,11,,4
Jn: Davis ^o	D: ^o	9	May 20	2: 17	6:	15,,12,,10
John Bishop ^r	Q: master	10	20	2: 16	7:	18,,—,,-

¹ Mass. Archives, Vol. XCII., 5.

(68.) 1.—Continued.

Mens Names	Quality	Time of entrance in the Service	Till what Time in the Service	Whole Time of Service	Wages per Month	Balance Due to each Man
		Mos. Dys. Mar. 10	Mos. Dys. May 20	Wks. Dys. 2: 16	l. s. d. 6:	l. s. d. 15,, 8,, 7
David Phips	Able					
Ed: Hartshorne	Doctor	10	20	2: 16	12:	30,, 17,, -
James Cummings	Able	10	20	2: 16	6:	15,, 8,, 8
John Samuells	D:	10	Apr. 25	1: 19	6:	10,, 1,, 4
Ph: Messarvey	Q:master	11	May 20	2: 15	7:	17,, 15,, -
Peirce Poor	Able	11	Apr. 11	1: 4	6:	6,, 17,, 2
W: Webb	D:	11	May 20	2: 15	6:	15,, 4,, 4
John Holman	D:	11	20	2: 15	6:	15,, 4,, 4
John Pickett	D:	11	Apr. 11	1: 4	6:	6,, 17,, 2
John Martin	D:	11	May 20	2: 15	6:	15,, 4,, 4
John Butler	D:	11	20	2: 15	6:	15,, 4,, 4
John Horner	D:	11	Apr. 1	22	6:	4,, 14,, 4
Pat: Royley	D:	11	May 20	2: 15	6:	15,, 4,, 4
Lem: Bryant	Chaplain	15	20	2: 11	12:	28,, 14,, 3
Sam: Warren	Able	17	Mar. 29	18	6:	2,, 15,, 8

121 6 £908,, 12,, -

W Ex^dP J W Ex^d

(68.) A Muster Roll of the Company in his Majesty's Service under the Command of Edward Tyng Captain Viz.¹

Mens Names N: 2	Quality	Time of entrance in the Service	Till what Time in the Service	Whole Time of Service	Wages per Month	Balance Due to each Man
		Mos. Dys. Mar. 17	Mos. Dys. May 20	Wks. Dys. 2: 9	l. s. d. 6:	l. s. d. 18,, 18,, 8
Samuel Sewall	Able					
Paul Sturdevant	D:	17	20	2: 9	6:	18,, 18,, 8
Charles Crimble	D:	17	Apr. 26	1: 18	6:	8,, 15,, 9
Ichabod Freeman	D:	17	May 20	2: 9	6:	18,, 18,, 8
Nathan Turner	D:	17	20	2: 9	6:	18,, 18,, 8
Joshua Thomas	D:	17	20	2: 9	6:	18,, 18,, 8
Thomas Rayment	D:	17	Apr. 2	17	6:	3,, 12,, 10
Seth Everson	D:	17	May 20	2: 9	6:	18,, 18,, 8

¹ Mass. Archives, Vol. XCII., 6.

(68.) 2.—Continued.

Mens Names	Quality	Time of entrance in the Service	Till what Time in the Service	Whole Time of Service	Wages per Month	Balance Due to each Man
Benj ^a : Landrass	Able	Mos. Dys. Mar. 17	Mos. Dys. Apr. 2	Wks. Dys. 17	l. s. d. 6:	l. s. d. 8,,12,,10
Thom's ^a Richmond	D:	17	Apr 20	1: 7	6:	7,,10,,—
Benj ^a : Read	D:	17	May 20	2: 9	6:	18,,18,,8
Joshua ¹ Russell	D:	17	Apr. 2	17	6:	3,,12,,10
Sam: Claghorne	D:	18	Apr 1	15	6:	3,, 4,,4
David Goodspeed	D:	18	May 14	2: 2	6:	12,, 8,,7
Joseph Jones	D:	18	20	2: 8	6:	18,,14,,4
Isaac Crocker	D:	18	20	2: 8	6:	18,,14,,4
Jos ^h : Chace	D:	18	20	2: 8	6:	18,,14,,4
Caleb Chace	D:	18	20	2: 8	6:	18,,14,,4
Chris ^r : Ellis	D:	18	20	2: 8	6:	18,,14,,4
Jethro Hatch	D:	18	20	2: 8	6:	18,,14,,4
Reuben Hatch	D:	18	20	2: 8	6:	18,,14,,4
Benj ^a : Maker	D:	18	20	2: 8	6:	18,,14,,4
Martin Wright	D:	18	20	2: 8	6:	18,,14,,4
Nath ¹ : Barlow	D:	18	Apr. 2	16	6:	3,, 8,,7
Jos ^h : Thorp	D:	18	May 20	2: 8	6:	18,,14,,4
Tim ^o : Goodspeed	D:	18	20	2: 8	6:	18,,14,,4
Jabez Berry	D:	18	20	2: 8	6:	18,,14,,4
Reuben Gage	D:	18	20	2: 8	6:	18,,14,,4
Barth ^o : Lynch	D:	18	20	2: 8	6:	18,,14,,4
Jos ^h : Bessy	D:	18	20	2: 8	6:	18,,14,,4
Jn ^o : Harvey	Gun: mate	19	20	2: 7	7:	15,,15,,—
Tim ^o : Gooch	Able	19	Apr. 15	1:	6:	6,,—,,—
Simon Tufts	Coxwain	19	May 20	2: 7	7:	15,,15,,—
Sam ¹ : Tufts	Able	19	20	2: 7	6:	18,,10,,—
Sam ¹ : Cleveland	Carpenter	20	20	2: 6	9:	19,,18,,7
Eb ^r : Howard	Able	20	Apr. 30	1: 14	6:	9,,—,,—
Joseph Leeds	D:	23	May 20	2: 3	6:	12,,12,,10
Joseph Glover	D:	24	20	2: 2	6:	12,, 8,,8

(68.) 2.—Continued.

Mens Names	Quality	Time of entrance in the Service	Till what Time in the Service	Whole Time of Service	Wages per Month	Ballance Due to each Man
^m W: Smith	Able	Mos. Dys. Mar. 24	Mos. Dys. Apr. 6	Wks. Dys. 14	l. s. d. 6:	l. s. d. 3,,—,—
John Decoster	D: ^o	30	10	12	6:	2,,11,,4
David Bean	D: ^o	30	20	22	6:	4,,14,,4
Peter Jent	D: ^o	30	May 20	1: 24	6:	11,, 3,,—
Daniel Beans	D: ^o	30	20	1: 24	6:	11,, 3,,—
John Barnes	D: ^o	Apr. 1	20	1: 22	6:	10,,14,,4
Moses Cleveland	D: ^o	1	20	1: 22	6:	10,,14,,4
Jon: Waldo	D: ^o	2	20	1: 21	6:	10,,10,,—
				84: 18	£519, 1,,10	
				T W Ex ^d	P J W Ex ^d	

(68.) A Muster Roll of the Company in His Majesty's Service .
under the Command of Edward Tyng Captain Viz.¹

Mens Names. N: 8	Quality	Time of entrance in the Service	Till what Time in the Service	Whole Time of Service	Wages per Month	Ballance Due to each Man
^d Rich: Richardson	Able	Mos. Dys. Apr. 9	Mos. Dys. May 20	Wks. Dys. 1: 14	l. s. d. 6:	l. s. d. 9,,—,—
Geo: Cutting	D: ^o	9	Apr. 26	18	6:	3,,17,,2
John Webber	D: ^o	10	May 20	1: 13	6:	8,,15,,8
¹ Dan: Smith	D: ^o	10	20	1: 13	6:	8,,15,,8
Jn: Trueman	D: ^o	10	20	1: 13	6:	8,,15,,8
Peter Read	Bosswins mate	10	20	1: 13	7:	10,, 5,,—
John Kelly	Able	10	Apr. 26	17	6:	3,,12,,10
¹ Mich: Dallis	D: ^o	11	26	16	6:	8,, 8,,8
Geo: Read	D: ^o	12	May 20	1: 11	6:	8,, 7,,2
William King	D: ^o	15	Apr. 20	6	6:	1,, 5,,8
^h Jos: Board	D: ^o	16	May 20	1: 7	6:	7,,10,,—
Clement Check	D: ^o	16	Apr. 26	11	6:	2,, 7,,4
^m W: Peters	D: ^o	16	21	6	6:	1,, 5,,8
^d Rich: Bently	D: ^o	16	May 20	1: 7	6:	7,,10,,—
John Peters	D: ^o	16	20	1: 7	6:	7,,10,,—

¹ Mass. Archives, Vol. XCII., 7.

(68.) 3.—Continued.

Mens Names	Quality	Time of entrance in the Service	Till what Time in the Service	Whole Time of Service	Wages per Month	Ballance Due to each Man
		Mos. Dys. Apr. 16	Mos. Dys. May 20	Wks.Dys 1: 7	l. s. d. 6:	l. s. d. 7,,10,,—
Rob ^t : Moores	Able					
Daniel Hood	D:	16	20	1: 7	6:	7,,10,,—
Sam ^l : Roberts	D:	18	20	1: 5	6:	7,, 1,,4
Tho ^a : Gullifer	D:	19	20	1: 4	6:	6,,17,,2
Edw ^d : Joiner	D:	19	20	1: 4	6:	6,,17,,2
Eln ^a : Ayres	Carp:mate	19	20	1: 4	7:	8,,—,,—
Sam ^l : Holland	Able	20	20	1: 8	6:	6,,12,,10
Phillip Cartright	D:	20	20	1: 8	6:	6,,12,,10
John Craige	D:	20	20	1: 8	6:	6,,12,,10
Richard Sappin	D:	20	20	1: 8	6:	6,,12,,10
William Fewens	D:	20	20	1: 8	6:	6,,12,,10
Isaac Pease	D:	20	Apr. 27	8	6:	1,,14,,4
Richard Tarr	D:	20	May 20	1: 8	6:	6,,12,,10
Jos ^h : Smith	D:	20	14	25	6:	5,, 7,,2
Rich ^d : Tobin	D:	20	20	1: 8	6:	6,,12,,10
Eb ^a : Moore	D:	20	20	1: 8	6:	6,,12,,10
Jehn Wire	D:	21	20	1: 2	6:	6,, 8,,8
John England	D:	23	20	1:	6:	6,,—,,—
Tim ^o : Hayze	D:	24	20	27	6:	5,,15,,8
Scipio Watson	D:	25	20	26	6:	5,,11,,4
Geo: Fisher	D:	25	20	26	6:	5,,11,,4
Jos ^h : Grove	D:	May 4	20	17	6:	3,,12,,10
John Lewis	D:	4	20	17	6:	3,,12,,10
Sam ^l : Henly	D:	10	20	11	6:	2,, 7,,4

T W Ex^d 38: 22 P JW £235,, 6,,4
 Brought from Muster Roll No 2 84: 18 Ex^d 519,, 1,,10
 Brought from Muster Roll 1 121: 6 908,,12,,—

Ex^d P W 244: 18 1658,,—,,2

L M 414,,10,,1/2

Boston Novem: 20.^r 1743

Edward Tyng

(69.) A Muster Roll of the Company in His Majesty's Service under the command of Edward Tyng Captain Viz.¹

Mens Names N: 1	Quality	Time of entrance in the Service	Till what Time in the Service	Whole Time of Service	Wages per Month	Balance Due to each Man
		Mos. Dys. May 21	Mos. Dys. Nov. 20	Wks. Dys. 6: 16	l. s. d. 22: 0	l. s. d. 144,, 11,, 5
Edward Tyng ^d	Captain					
Rich: Heydan	Lieuten't	21	20	6: 16	14: 8	94,, 12,, 7
William Loud	Master	21	20	6: 16	12: 8	81,, 9,, 9
John Oldfeld ^m	Gunner	21	20	6: 16	11: 12	76,, 4,, 7
W: Rouse	Bosswin	21	20	6: 16	11: 0	72,, 5,, 8
David Hunt	Steward	21	July 16	2: 1	9: 0	18,, 6,, 7
Nath: Prentice	Able	21	Nov. 20	6: 16	8: 0	52,, 11,, 4
Darby Meloney	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8: 0	52,, 11,, 4
James Nutting	Armourer	21	20	6: 16	9: 0	59,, 2,, 10
John Bond	Able	21	20	6: 16	8: 0	52,, 11,, 4
William Smith	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8: 0	52,, 11,, 4
William Gross	Cooper	21	20	6: 16	9: 0	59,, 2,, 10
John Martin	Able	21	20	6: 16	8: 0	52,, 11,, 4
John Negurs	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8: 0	52,, 11,, 4
Rob: Jarvis	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8: 0	52,, 11,, 4
Syphax, a Serv. ^{tt}	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8: 0	52,, 11,, 4
John Powers	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8: 0	52,, 11,, 4
John Francisco	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8: 0	52,, 11,, 4
John Allen	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8: 0	52,, 11,, 4
Martin Marrow ^r	Cook	21	July 8	1: 21	9: 0	15,, 15,, -
Eb: Allen	Able	21	Sep. 30	4: 21	8: 0	38,, -, -
Sam: Thorndike ⁱ	D: ^o	21	D: ^o 21	4: 12	8: 0	35,, 8,, 6
Eb: Lawrence ^r	D: ^o	21	Nov. 20	6: 16	8: 0	52,, 11,, 4
W: Norton ^m	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8: 0	52,, 11,, 4
Jn: Davis ^o	D: ^o	21	June 10	21	8: 0	6,, -, -
John Bishop ^r	Q:master	21	Nov. 20	6: 16	9: 0	59,, 2,, 10
David Phips	Able	21	20	6: 16	8: 0	52,, 11,, 4
Eb: Hartshorne ^r	Doctor	21	20	6: 16	12: 8	81,, 9,, 9
James Cummings	Able	21	20	6: 16	8: 0	52,, 11,, 4

¹ Mass. Archives, Vol. XCII., 16.² "Absent about six weeks of the time."

(69.) 1.—Continued.

Mens Names	Quality	Time of entrance in the Service	Till what Time in the Service	Whole Time of Service	Wages per Month	Balance Due to each Man
		Mos. Dys.	Mos. Dys.	Wks. Dys.	l. s. d.	l. s. d.
^p Ph: Messarvey	^r Q:master	21	20	6: 16	9:	59,, 2,, 10
^m W: Webb	Able	21	20	6: 16	8:	52,, 11,, 4
John Holman	D: ^o	21	10	6: 6	8:	49,, 14,, 3
John Martin	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8:	52,, 11,, 4
John Butler	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8:	52,, 11,, 4
^k Pat: Royley	D: ^o	21	June 16	27	8:	7,, 12,, 2
Lemuel Bryant	Chaplain	21	Nov. 20	6: 16	12: 8	81,, 9,, 9
ⁱ Sam: Sewall	Able	21	20	6: 16	8:	52,, 11,, 4
Paul Sturdevant	D: ^o	21	Oct. 14	5: 7	8:	42,, —,, —
Ichabod Freeman	D: ^o	21	Nov. 20	6: 16	8:	52,, 11,, 4
Nathan Turner	D: ^o	21	9	6: 5	8:	49,, 8,, 6
^h Jos: Thomas	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8:	52,, 11,, 4
Seth Everson	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8:	52,, 11,, 4

T W Ex^d 249: 5 Ex^d £2287,, 11,, 3¹(69.) A Muster Roll of the Company in His Majesty's Service under the Command of Edward Tyng Captain Viz.²

Mens Names N: 2	Quality	Time of entrance in the Service	Till what Time in the Service	Whole Time of Service	Wages per Month	Balance Due to each Man
		Mos. Dys.	Mos. Dys.	Wks. Dys.	l. s. d.	l. s. d.
^a Benj: Read	Able	May 21	Nov. 20	6: 16	8:	52,, 11,, 4
Joseph Jones	D: ^o	21	Aug. 20	3: 8	8:	26,, 5,, 8
Isaac Crocker	D: ^o	21	Nov. 20	6: 16	8:	52,, 11,, 4
Joseph Chace	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8:	52,, 11,, 4
Caleb Chace	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8:	52,, 11,, 4
Jethro Hatch	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8:	52,, 11,, 4
Reuben Hatch	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8:	52,, 11,, 4
^a Benj: Maker	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8:	52,, 11,, 4
^{Servt John Bacon} Martin Wright	D: ^o	21	6	6: 2	8:	48,, 11,, 4
Joseph Thorp	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8:	52,, 11,, 4
^o Tim: Goodspeed	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8:	52,, 11,, 4

¹ "Old Tenour."² Mass. Archives, Vol. XCII., 17.

(69.) 2.—Continued.

Mens Names	Quality	Time of entrance in the Service	Till what Time in the Service	Whole Time of Service	Wages per Month	Balance Due to each Man
		Mos. Dys. May 21	Mos. Dys. Nov. 20	Wks Dys 6: 16	l. s. d. 8:	l. s. d. 52,,11,,4
Jabez Berry	Able					
Reuben Gage	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8:	52,,11,,4
Barth: Lynch	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8:	52,,11,,4
Jos: Bessy	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8:	52,,11,,4
Jn: Harvey	Gunners mate	21	20	6: 16	9:	59,, 2,,10
Simon Tufts	Coxwain	21	20	6: 16	9:	59,, 2,,10
Samuel Tufts	Able	21	20	6: 16	8:	52,,11,,4
Samuel Cleveland	Carp: ^r	21	20	6: 16	11:	72,, 5,,8
Joseph Leeds	Able	21	20	6: 16	8:	52,,11,,4
Joseph Glover	D: ^o	21	June 6	17	8:	4,,17,,—
Peter Jent	D: ^o	21	Nov. 8	6: 4	8:	49,, 2,,10
Daniel Beans	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8:	52,,11,,4
John Barnes	D: ^o	21	Sep. 4	3: 23	8:	30,,11,,4
Moses Cleaveland	D: ^o	21	June 10	21	8:	6,,—,,—
Jon: Waldo	D: ^o	21	Nov. 20	6: 16	8:	52,,11,,4
Rich: Richardson	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8:	52,,11,,4
John Webber	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8:	52,,11,,4
Daniel Smith	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8:	52,,11,,4
John Trueman	D: ^o	21	June 18	1: 1	8:	8,, 5,,8
Peter Read	Bosswins mate	21	Oct. 30	5: 23	9:	52,, 7,,10
Geo: Reed	Able	21	Nov. 20	6: 16	8:	52,,11,,4
Joseph Board	D: ^o	21	June 11	22	8:	6,, 5,,8
Richard Bently	D: ^o	21	14	25	8:	7,, 2,,8
John Peters	D: ^o	21	27	1: 10	8:	10,,17,,—
Robert Moores	D: ^o	21	14	25	8:	7,, 2,,8
Dan: Hood	D: ^o	21	Nov. 20	6: 16	8:	52,,11,,4
Sam: Roberts	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8:	52,,11,,4
Tho: Gullifer	D: ^o	21	June 11	22	8:	6,, 5,,8
Edward Joiner	D: ^o	21	Nov. 20	6: 16	8:	52,,11,,4
Elnathan Ayres	Carpen- ters mate	21	June 11	22	9:	7,, 1,,5

T W Ex^d210: 13 Ex^d 1723,,—,,—1

(69.) A Muster Roll of the Company in His Majesty's Service under the Command of Edward Tyng Captain Viz.¹

Mens Names N: 3	Quality	Time of entrance in the Service	Till what Time in the Service	Whole Time of Service	Wages per Month	Balance Due to each Man
		Mos. Dys.	Mos. Dys.	Wks. Dys.	l. s. d.	l. s. d.
Samuel Holland	Able	May 21	June 25	1: 8	8:	10,, 5,, 8
Ph: ^p Cartright	D: ^o	21	25	1: 8	8:	10,, 5,, 8
John Craige	D: ^o	21	Nov. 20	6: 16	8:	52,, 11,, 4
Rich: ^d Sappin	D: ^o	21	June 15	26	8:	7,, 8,, 7
Will: ^m Fewens ^a	D: ^o	21	Nov. 20	6: 16	8:	52,, 11,, 4
Richard Tarr	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8:	52,, 11,, 4
Richard Tobin	D: ^o	21	20	6: 16	8:	52,, 11,, 4
Eb: ^r Moores	Do ^o	21	5	6: 1	8:	48,, 5,, 8
John Wire	D: ^o	21	Sep. 12	4: 3	8:	32,, 17,, -
John England	D: ^o	21	Nov. 20	6: 16	8:	52,, 11,, 4
Timothy Hayze	D: ^o	21	Aug. 20	3: 8	8:	26,, 5,, 8
Scipio Watson	D: ^o	21	Nov. 20	6: 16	8:	52,, 11,, 4
Geo: Fisher	D: ^o	21	June 10	21	8:	6,, -,, -
Jos: ^h Grove	D: ^o	21	Sep. 30	4: 21	8:	38,, -,, -
John Lewis	D: ^o	21	30	4: 21	8:	38,, -,, -
Sam: ^l Henly	D: ^o	21	27	4: 18	8:	37,, 2,, 10
Sam: ^l Elvill	Pilott	21	Nov. 20	6: 16	11: 12	76,, 4,, 7
W: ^m Croxford	Able	June 6	20	6:	8:	48,, -,, -
Jos: ^h Chamberlain	Mate	7	Aug. 20	2: 19	10:	26,, 15,, 9
James Boyles	Able	10	Nov. 20	5: 24	8:	46,, 17,, -
Benj: ^a White	Carp mate	12	20	5: 22	9:	52,, 1,, 5
Cornel: Dunayan	Able	12	20	5: 22	8:	46,, 5,, 8
Tho: ^s Holkar	D: ^o	13	Sep. 4	3:	8:	24,, -,, -
Scipio, a Servant	D: ^o	July 4	Aug. 28	2:	8:	16,, -,, -
Stephen Rowe	D: ^o	6	Nov. 20	4: 26	8:	39,, 8,, 8
Ab: ^m Martin	D: ^o	6	5	4: 11	8:	35,, 2,, 8
Pickett Potts	D: ^o	6	July 26	21	8:	6,, -,, -
David Nicholson	D: ^o	6	26	21	8:	6,, -,, -
W: ^m Dally	D: ^o	1	Nov. 20	5: 3	8:	40,, 17,, -

¹ Mass. Archives, Vol. XCII., 18.

(69.) 3.—Continued.

Mens Names	Quality	Time of entrance in the Service	Till what Time in the Service	Whole Time of Service	Wages per Month	Balance Due to each Man
David Hunt	Able	Mos. Dys. July 17	Mos. Dys. Nov. 20	Wks. Dys. 4: 15	l. s. d. 8:	l. s. d. 36,, 5,, 8
John Charnock	Steward	17	20	4: 15	9:	40,, 16,, 5
Benj ^a : Simmonds	Able	17	20	4: 15	8:	36,, 5,, 8
John Ayres	D: ^o	29	Aug. 10	13	8:	3,, 14,, 4
James Nutting	D: ^o	20	Nov. 20	4: 12	8:	35,, 8,, 8
John Grant	D: ^o	20	Aug. 16	1:	8:	8,, —, —
W ^m : Whitmore	Mate	Aug. 26	Nov. 20	3: 8	10:	31,, 1,, 5
Benj ^a : Griffin	Able	29	20	3:	8:	24,, —, —
Belcher Fuller	D: ^o	Sep 2	8	2: 12	8:	19,, 8,, 8
Francis Floyd	D: ^o	2	4	2: 8	8:	18,, 5,, 8
Jeremiah Saywood	D: ^o	2	Nov. 1	2: 5	8:	17,, 8,, 8
T W Ex ^d				157: 10	Ex ^d	1804,, 7
Brought from sheet No 2				210: 13		1728,, 1
Brought from ditto — 1				249: 5		2287,, 11,, 8
				617		£5314,, 18,, 4

L M 1828,, 14,, 7

Boston Novem^r 20th 1742 Edwd Tyng(69.) Muster Roll of The Company In his Majesties Service Under The Command of Edward Tyng Commencing from 12th Nov^r 1741.¹

Mens Names	Quality	When Ent ^d	When Disch ^d	Time Service	Wages per Month	Total Wages
Edward Tyng	Captain	Nov. 12 th	Feb. 10	3 ^{mo} 7 ^{da}	£30	£65:
John Oldfield	Gunner	12	10	3 7	£10	32: 10
David Hunt	Bossawin	12	10	3 7	£9	29: 5
Nath ^l Prentice	Foremast	12	10	3 7	£6	19: 10
Syphax, Negro	Foremast	12	10	3 7	£6	19: 10
P J W. Ex ^d				16mo 7da		£165: 15
Vittualling the Above at 24/ per week . .				£78 . .		£78
						£243: 15

¹ Mass. Archives, Vol. XCI., 367.

Boston New-England Feb: 10th 1741

Errors Excepted

P Edwd Tyng

Sworn

Ex & Allow

P ye Committee N T

J J

£60. 18. 9

Payment ordered Mch. 18, 1741.¹ (O. S.)

(70.) Muster Roll of The Company In His Majestys Service Under
The Command of Edward Tyng On Board The Snow Prince of Orange—
1742²

Mons Names	Quality	Time of Entry	Time of Discharge	Whole Time of Service	Wages P month	Total Wages
Edward Tyng	Captain	Nov 21	Feb 3	2 ^{mo} 19 ^{ds}	22: 8 ^s 6 ^d	58:18:6
John Oldfeld	Gunner	21	3	2 19	11: 12	31: 1: 5
William Rouse	Boatswin	21	3	2 19	11	29: 9: 3
Nath Prentice	Able	21	3	2 19	8	21: 8: 8
Syphax, Negro	D ^o	21	3	2 19	8	21: 8: 8
John Harvey	Gun ^{rs} Mate	Jan 24	3	11	9	3:10:9
				18 22		£165:17:3

Victualling the Above

18mo 22^{ds} a 24 / per week

66: 8: 5 1/2

Ex^d P J W

Old Tenour

£232: 0: 8 1/2

£58: 0: 2 New Tenour

Boston Feb 3, 1742

Errors Excepted

P Edwd Tyng

Sworn before S Danforth J Pact

Ex & Allow'd P the Comittee

Payment authorized, Mch. 23, 1742, (O. S.)³¹ Council Records, Vol. X., p. 587.² Mass. Archives, Vol. XCII., 23.³ Council Records, Vol. XI., p. 20.

APPENDIX B.

EXTRACTS FROM BOSTON NEWSPAPERS.

- (1.) *The Boston Weekly News-Letter*; June 26,—July 8, 1740.

On Monday last his Excellency the Governour made the following speech to the General Assembly, viz.

As I am inform'd of some Vessels hovering about our Harbours and those of the neighbouring Colonies, which are suspected to be come for Provisions to supply the Subjects of Spain I wish this Assembly might pass some effectual Act for preventing anything of so pernicious and fatal Consequence.

June 30, 1740.

J. Belcher.

- (2.) *Ibid.*, July 8,—July 10, 1740.

Yesterday his Excellency the Governour was pleased to make the following Speech to the General Assembly, viz.

Gentlemen of the Council and the House of Representatives
At the beginning of this Session I mentioned to you the defenceless naked state of our Sea Coast; and since that the Account I had received of some Vessels hovering about us, to attempt an illicit and clandestine Trade, and to supply the Spaniards with Provisions, notwithstanding the War his Majesty has declared against that Crown; one such Vessel is already Seized and carried into Rhode-Island, by the great Care and Vigilance of that Government.

I would now again recommend to you the Dispatch of a Bill to be pass'd into a Law, for preventing any such pernicious Trade: And that Provision be also made before this Court rises for purchasing a suitable Vessel for the Protection of our Commerce; and that a Bill be also prepared against Mutiny and Desertion.

July 9, 1740.

J. Belcher.

- (3.) *Boston Evening Post*; Monday July 28, 1740.

There is now building, for the Use of the Province, a fine Snow, of an hundred and seventy odd Tons, which is carried on with such extraordinary Dispatch, that 'tis said she is to be launched in a Month's Time at furthest, tho' her Keel has not been laid above a Week.

- (4.) *The Boston Weekly News-Letter*; Aug. 21—28, 1740.

Yesterday a fine Galley, built at the Charge of this Government, for the Service of the Province in Guarding our Coasts, to be Commanded by Edward Tyng, Esq; was launch'd at Mr. Benjamin Hallowell's Ship Yard.

- (5.) *Boston Evening Post*; Monday Sept. 1, 1740.

Last Tuesday [Aug. 26, 1740] the Galley built by Mr. Benj. Hallowell at the charge of this Province for the Defense of our Coast was launched in the view of a prodigious Number of People who were assembled on that occasion. She is esteemed a very fine ship by good

judges and was built and launched in 82 days from the laying of her keel altho' five of the said Days were so Rainy that very little Work was done in them. She measures 180 Tons, mounts 16 Carriage Guns that will carry a Ball of six Pounds and 'tis said she is to carry as many Swivels. She is commanded by Capt. Edward Tyng, an experienced Officer, and is fitting out with such diligence that 'tis said she will be fit for the Sea before this week is out. She is called the Prince of Orange in Memory we suppose of our glorious Deliverer King William.

(6.) *Ibid.*, Apr. 20, 1741.

Upon advice that a Foreign Vessel is on our Coast, Capt. Tyng in the Province Snow sail'd last Friday in quest of her.

(7.) *Ibid.*, Monday June 1, 1741.

Yesterday our Province Snow, Capt. Edward Tyng Commander, came in from a Cruize, and this Day sail'd again in quest of the Privateers now on our Coast.

(8.) *The Boston Weekly News-Letter*, Thursday May 28, June 4, 1741.

The Same Day [Monday last] Sail'd our Province Snow, Capt. Tyng, on a Cruize after the Spanish Privateers lately seen off our Southern Coasts.

(9.) *Ibid.*, Thursday, July 2-July 9, 1741.

Last Monday Capt. Tyng in the Province Snow Prince of Orange, returned hither from a Cruize.

(10.) *Boston Evening Post*; Monday, July 18, 1741.

Last Monday our Province Snow Prince of Orange, Capt. Edward Tyng Commander, came in from a Cruize of five or six Weeks. She has ranged all the Coast between this and Virginia, and is allowed by all to go exceeding Well, they having seen no Vessel but what they spoke with. The greatest Difficulty they met with of that Sort, was to come up with the Virginia Station Ship, but after a hard Chase of eight Hours, they came up with her, and by firing a Gun brought her to, and Spoke with her, though she carries 40 Guns and is commanded by a Knight.

(11.) *Ibid.*, Monday, July 20, 1741.

In our second Paragraph under Boston in our last Week's Paper (about Capt. Tyng's chasing the Virginia Station Ship) instead of those words, and by firing a Gun brought her to, be pleased to read, and upon shewing their Colours, and firing a Gun to Leeward, she bore down and spoke with them.

(12.) *Ibid.*, Monday, Aug. 8, 1741.

Last Week our Province Snow Prince of Orange, Capt. Ed. Tyng Commander, sail'd on a Cruize.

(13.) *Ibid.*, Monday, Aug. 10, 1741.

The same Day [Saturday Aug. 8] our Province Snow, Capt. Tyng Commander, came in from a Cruize.

(14.) *The Boston Weekly News-Letter*; Thursday, Aug. 6–Aug. 13, 1741.

This Morning Capt. Tyng, in our Province Snow, returned hither from a Cruize: Yesterday Evening he came up with the Mast-Ship, Capt. Noble, off of Boon-Island, bound in to Piscataqua: The Said Ship having on board His Majesty's Royal Commission constituting and Appointing the Hon. *William Shirley*, Esq; Captain General and Governour in and over this Province, the said Commission was put on board Capt. Tyng, by whom it was brought hither.

(15.) *Ibid.*, Sept. 24–Oct. 1, 1741.

[Mention is made of the Province Snow taking part in chasing some runaway slaves, Tuesday Sept. 29, 1741, being then in Boston Harbor.]

(16.) *Boston Evening Post*; Monday, Nov. 2, 1741.

Last Saturday Capt. Tyng in our Province Snow, arrived here from a Cruize.

(17.) *Ibid.*, Feb. 22, Mch. 1, and 8, 1741–2; and *News-Letter*, Feb. 25–Mch. 4.

Advt. These are to inform all Gentlemen Sailors and all other able-bodied men who are desirous to enlist on board his Majestys Snow Prince of Orange, under my Command which is to be fitted out with all Expedition, that the General Court in their last Session, have granted to the Company of the said Snow, the whole of all vessels, Stores and Goods which may be taken by them: and for a further Encouragement have granted Ten pounds for each Man on board any Ship of War or Privateer of the Enemy who shall be slain or taken Prisoner by said Company: Besides which, there is Five Pounds Sterling allowed by his Majesty for each man slain or taken as aforesaid.

Boston, Feb. 19, 1741.

Edward Tyng.

(18.) *Ibid.*, May 3, 1742.

The beginning of last week his majesty's Ship Success, and the Province Snow Prince of Orange, sail'd on a Cruize.

(19.) *Ibid.*, Aug. 2, 1742.

Last Wednesday his Excellency and the Gentlemen appointed to attend him to the Eastward, embark'd on board the Province Snow Prince of Orange, and a fine large Ship in the Service of the Government commanded by Cousins; but the Wind soon after coming to the East, they did not leave the Harbour till Friday Morning, when they sail'd with a favourable Wind.

(20.) *Ibid.*, Aug. 23, 1742.

Last Tuesday Evening His Excellency, with the Gentlemen who attended him to the Eastward, arrived here in good Health, on board our Province Snow Prince of Orange, Ship Vernon, and a Sloop in the Country's Service.

(21.) *The Boston Weekly News-Letter*; Aug. 19–Aug. 26, 1742.

Two Spanish Privateers being reported south of New York & his

Maj. Ship Gosport not being fit to pursue: "Whereupon his Excellency has given orders to Capt. Tyng, Commander of our Province Snow the Prince of Orange, to go in quest of these Privateers with all Expedition."

(22.) *Boston Evening Post*; Dec. 6, and 13, 1742.

Advt. The Officers and Mariners lately belonging to his Majesty's Snow Prince of Orange, are desired to come to the House of Capt. Edward Tyng and receive their Wages.

Boston, Dec. 4, 1742.

(23.) *Ibid.*, Monday June 20, 1748.

And on Thursday Capt. Tyng arrived here from his Cruize. 'Tis said he was as far as the Bar of Augustine, but was not happy enough to meet with any of the Enemy's Ships, nor could he hear of any of their Privateers being on our American Coasts.

(24.) *Ibid.*, July 4, 1748.

On Friday last the gallant and active Capt. Frankland, Commander of His Majesty's Ship Rose arrived here He was saluted below by the Province Snow Prince of Orange, Capt. Tyng Commander.

(25.) *Ibid.*, Aug. 8, 1748.

Last Week Capt. Tyng, in our Province Snow Prince of Orange, arrived from a Cruize.

(26.) *Ibid.*, Sept. 5, 1748; also *News-Letter*, Sept. 8, 1748.

Last Saturday our Province Snow Prince of Orange, Capt. Tyng came in from a cruize.

(27.) *Ibid.*, Oct. 10, 1748.

By the Eastern Post last Saturday Evening his Excellency had Advice, that a large Spanish Privateer Sloop has been seen on the Coast, and we hear that Capt. Tyng in the Province Snow is order'd out forthwith in quest of her.

(28.) *Ibid.*, May 28, 1744.

Yesterday Capt. Tyng, in the Province Snow Prince of Orange, arrived here from Annapolis Royal, and informs, that they had Advice there, that a large Body of French and Indians assembled at Secanecta intended to attack that Fort, upon which all the English Inhabitants had left their Houses in the Town and retired into it. Capt. Tyng brought with him 26 of their Women and Children, and many more are expected in other Vessels.

(29.) *Ibid.*, Monday June 4, 1744.

Last Saturday [the declaration of war was received] upon which . . . in the Afternoon, by his Excellency's Order his Majesty's Declaration of War against France, and his Proclamation for the Encouragement of his Ships of War and Privateers, were publicly read from the Balcony of the Town House

(30.) *Ibid.*, Monday June 18, 1744.

Yesterday Capt. Tyng, in our Province Snow Prince of Orange, sail'd on a Cruize.

(81.) *Ibid.*, Monday June 25, 1744.

. . . the French have six Privateers at Sea . . . the chief of which is a large Schooner, with 140 Men, well fitted . . . and commanded by one Murphy, an Irishman, called by the French, Morefang . . . 'Tis said this boasting Blade threatens to come and take the Vessels out of Nantasket Harbour, and has the Impudence to say, that he expects in a little Time to have the Command of our Galley the Prince of Orange . . .

Capt. Tyng in our Province Snow is now coming up with two Pendants flying, and a large Sloop in Tow with the Top of her Mast gone, which is generally concluded to be a Prize.

(82.) *Boston Weekly News-Letter*; June 29, 1744.

On Monday last Capt. Tyng in the Province Snow returned from a Cruise, and brought with him a French Privateer Sloop with 94 Men, mounted with 8 Carriage and 8 Swivel Guns, burthen between 70 and 80 Tuns, commanded by Capt. Delebroltz, which was fitted out from Cape Breton, and sail'd about 3 Weeks before: Capt. Tyng discover'd her last Saturday Morning about 9 o'Clock, as he was laying too off Crab Ledge, 15 Leagues from Cape Cod, it being very calm: Perceiving she had a Top-sail and was bearing down towards him, Capt. Tyng took her to be the Province Sloop commanded by Capt. Fletcher; but soon after, as she drew nearer, he suspected her to be a French Cruizer under English Colours, whereupon, in order to prevent a Discovery he ordered his Colours to be struck, his Guns to be drawn in and his Ports to be shut close, and at the same Time the Bulk Head to be taken down: When the Privateer had got within about a Gunshot of Capt. Tyng, taking the Snow to be a Merchant-Man, they fired upon him: upon which Capt. Tyng threw open his Ports, run out his Guns, hoisted his Colours and fired upon them: Perceiving their Mistake, they tack'd about, put out their Oars and Tug'd hard to get off after firing two or three Guns more: It continuing very calm, Capt. Tyng was obliged to order out his Oars and to row after her, firing several Times his Bow Chase at her, in which the Gunner was so skilful, that 9 Times the Shot did some Damage either to her Hull or Rigging: about Two o'Clock the next Morning he came up pretty close with them being very much guided by 4 Lanthorns which they had inadvertently hung out upon their Rigging in the Night; finding they were bro't to the last Tryal, attempted to board Capt. Tyng, which he perceiving, brought up his Vessel and gave them a Broadside, they having before thro' Fear all quitted the Deck: The Mast being disabled by a Shot, it soon after broke off in the middle: Upon firing the Broadside they cry'd for Quarter; and then Capt. Tyng order'd them to hoist out their Boat and bring the Captain on board, but they answer'd that their Tackling was so much shatter'd that they could not get out their Boat with it; they were then told they must do it by Hand: Accordingly they soon comply'd and the Captain being brought on board deliver'd his Sword, Commission, &c. to Capt. Tyng, desiring that he and his Men might be kindly us'd, he was promis'd they should;

and then the other Officers, being a 2d Captain, 3 Lieutenants, and others Inferiour, were brought on board, and the next Day the rest of the Men who were secur'd in the Hold.

The Night after Capt. Tyng brought them into this Harbour, they were convey'd ashore and committed to Prison here; and the next Morning 50 of them were guarded to the Prisons at Cambridge at (*sic*) Charlestown: The Officers and Men are treated with much Humanity and Kindness.

'Tis remarkable that notwithstanding the great Number of Men on either side, in the attack and surrender, there was not one kill'd or wounded.

Capt. Morepang in a Schooner of 110 Tuns, mounting 10 Carriage Guns, 4 Pounders, and 10 Swivels, with 120 Men, came out with Delebroitz from Cape Breton, and we hear is appointed to Guard the Coast there till a Vessel of greater Force arrives for that Purpose.

(88.) *The Boston Gazette or Weekly Journal*, Tuesday June 26, 1744.

Yesterday arrived here from a Cruize Capt. Tyng in the Province Snow Prince of Orange, who on Saturday last about 9 o'Clock in a calm Time, about fifteen Leagues from Cape Cod, saw a Sail at a considerable Distance which bore down upon him, and in about an Hour Capt. Tyng discern'd her to be a French Privateer under English Colours; upon which he haul'd in his Guns, took down his Bulk Head, struck his Colours, and lay too, 'till the Privateer came within Gunshot of the Snow, when she struck her English & hoisted French Colours: Upon which Capt. Tyng threw open his Ports and gave him a broadside which rak'd her fore and aft, on which they return'd the Snow two Guns, and then out with their Oars and endeavor'd to make off: Capt. Tyng immediately put out his Oars and gave 'em Chace 'till two o'Clock next Morning and then came up with them: upon which the Privateer attempted to board the Snow; and then Capt. Tyng gave them another broadside, besides pouring his small Arms into them, which very much shatter'd their Rigging and disabled their Mast; and then they cry'd for Quarter Capt. Tyng then order'd them to hoist their Boat and bring their Captain on board; when he came on board he delivr'd Capt. Tyng his Sword, & Commission, & desir'd he might have good Quarters; the other Officers were soon after brought on board, and the next Morning the Prisoners, who were secur'd in the Hold: The Number of Men on board the Privateer were 94, which Capt. Tyng brought in, and were committed to Gaol here last Night, and this Morning about 50 of them were removed to Charlestown & Cambridge Gaols. The said Privateer was commanded by one Delabrotz and came from Cape Briton about 3 weeks ago, in Consort with Capt. Morpang in a schooner Privateer of 110 Tons, 10 Carriage and 10 Swivel Guns with 120 Men. These were the two Vessels that took Canso, as the aforesaid Capt. of the Privateer inform'd Capt. Tyng.

(84.) *Boston Evening Post*; Monday, July 2, 1744.

Last Tuesday Capt. Fletcher, Commander of a Sloop of War in the Service of this Province, sail'd on a Cruize, as did Capt. Tyng the next Day in the Province Snow.

Friday last Capt. Tyng came in again from a Cruize.

Early this morning our Province Snow, with a Transport Sloop, sail'd for Annapolis Royal, with a Company of new rais'd Soldiers under the Command of Capt. William Foyle.¹

(85.) *Ibid.*, July 16, 1744.

Last Friday Capt. Tyng, in our Province Snow Prince of Orange arrived here from Annapolis Royal. He sail'd from this Port on the second Instant, with about 80 new rais'd Soldiers to reinforce that Garrison, and arriv'd there safe on the fourth, about One O'clock, to the inexpressible Joy of the whole Garrison, the Fort being besieged by a large body of Indians, who came before it on the 30th of June. [The Indians retired on seeing the vessel. They took the hammocks in the netting for Indians.] When Capt. Tyng came up to the Fort, he saluted it with 13 Guns, and received a like number from it.

The very Day the Ship arrived here with the Declaration of War, His Excellency sent an Express to Capt. Tyng, then at Piscataqua, with Orders to sail immediately for Annapolis Royal, to inform the Commander there of that Event. [The place was therefore got ready for attack.]

We hear that Capt. Tyng will sail again in a few days for Annapolis Royal, with another Company of Soldiers for that Garrison.

(86.) *Ibid.*, Monday July 23, 1744; also *News-Letter*, July 26, 1744.

Yesterday Capt. Tyng, in our Province Snow, with a Transport Sloop under his Convoy, sail'd for Annapolis Royal, with another Company of Soldiers for that Garrison.

We hear, that one of the Frenchmen now in Gaol here declared, that they had four of their Men kill'd in the late Engagement with Capt. Tyng, which they sewed up in Hammocks and threw overboard, before Capt. Tyng's Men entred their Vessel.

(87.) *Ibid.*, Monday, Aug. 13, 1744; also *Gazette*, Aug. 14, and *News-Letter*, Aug. 9, for first item.

Last Wednesday Capt. Tyng arrived here from Annapolis Royal.

Yesterday five Ships sail'd from this Port for Europe, under Convoy of our Province Snow Prince of Orange, Capt. Tyng Commander, who we hear is to see them as far as the Banks of Newfoundland.

(88.) *Ibid.*, Sept. 3, 1744.

Last Tuesday Capt. Tyng arrived here from a Cruize, and from conveying off the Coast several Ships bound to Great Britain, &c. And Yesterday he sail'd on another Cruize, with about a Dozen Vessels under his Convoy.

¹ The last item is also in *The Boston Gazette*, July 3, 1744, and all three items are in the *News-Letter* of June 29 and July 5.

(39.) *Ibid.*; Sept. 24, 1744.

Last Friday Capt. Tyng and Capt. Fletcher sail'd on a Cruize, with several Vessels under their Convoy.

(40.) *The Boston Gazette*; Tuesday, Oct. 16, 1744.

We hear that Capt. Tyng in the *Snow Prince of Orange*, and Capt. Smethurst in the *Boston-Packet*, two of our Guard Vessels, will this Day sail on a Cruize, in order to meet the London Ships, whose arrival is daily expected; and who are to take under their Convoy such Vessels as are ready to sail from hence.

(41.) *Boston Evening Post*; Monday, Nov. 19, 1744.

Friday last Capt. Tyng in the *Province Snow Prince of Orange* arrived here from Annapolis Royal; and on Saturday Capt. Smethurst and Capt. Sanders came in from the same Place. These three Vessels are maintain'd at the Charge of this Province, and sail'd together about three weeks ago for Annapolis Royal on His Majesty's Service.

(42.) *Ibid.*, Monday, Feb. 25, 1745.

Last Wednesday a fine Ship (call'd the *Massachusetts*) built by Capt. Berry, about 400 Tons; that is to carry Twenty Carriage Guns, 9 and 6 Pounders, was launched in Presence of a vast Number of People assembled on that Occasion. She is bought by the Government, for the Protection of our Coast and Trade, and the Command given to Capt. Edward Tyng, late Commander of the *Province Snow Prince of Orange*, which is now commanded by Capt. Smethurst, and Capt. Fletcher has the Command of a fine Brigantine in the Service of the Province.

(43.) *Ibid.*, Monday, May 20, 1745.

We also hear, that Capt. Smethurst, in the *Prince of Orange*, was soon to sail [from Louisburg] for this Port, with several Prizes taken from the Enemy.

(44.) *Ibid.*, Monday, July 22, 1745.

An account of the taking of Louisbourg says:—

"With the Loss at Sea of one Ship only, the *Prince of Orange Snow*, belonging to this Province, lost, as it is suppos'd, in a Storm as she was cruising off the Harbour's Mouth, whereby there are unfortunately made about 50 disconsolate Widows in one of our Fishing Towns."

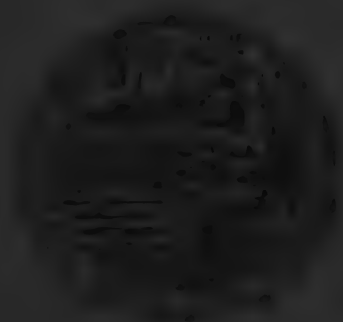
[This report is from despatches from Sir William Pepperrell and Com. Warren.]

PROCEEDINGS

American Antiquarian Society.

FOR THE YEAR 1880.

NEW YORK, 1880.



Published by the American Antiquarian Society,
No. 125 North Washington Street, Boston, Mass.
1880.

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PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 30, 1901, AT THE HALL OF THE
SOCIETY IN WORCESTER.

THE meeting was called to order at 10:30 A. M., by the President, HON. STEPHEN SALISBURY. The minutes of the previous meeting were read by the Secretary, CHARLES A. CHASE.

The following members were present :

Edward E. Hale, George F. Hoar, Nathaniel Paine, Stephen Salisbury, Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard, Edward L. Davis, James F. Hunnewell, Egbert C. Smyth, Charles C. Smith, Thomas H. Gage, Edmund M. Barton, Franklin B. Dexter, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Henry W. Haynes, J. Evarts Greene, Henry S. Nourse, Daniel Merriman, William B. Weeden, Reuben Colton, Henry H. Edes, George E. Francis, G. Stanley Hall, John McK. Merriam, William E. Foster, Charles Francis Adams, Francis H. Dewey, Calvin Stebbins, Henry A. Marsh, Ezra S. Stearns, William T. Forbes, Leonard P. Kinnicutt, George H. Haynes, Charles L. Nichols, Waldo Lincoln, John Noble, Austin S. Garver, Samuel Utley, James W. Brooks, James F. Rhodes, E. Harlow Russell, Benjamin T. Hill, Henry F. Jenks.

The report of the Council was read by Vice-President HOAR.

In introducing a paper upon the Life and Character of Charles Allen, Senator HOAR said :—

I am to read a paper as part of the report of the Council upon a subject very dear to my memory and to my heart.

There are one or two things which perhaps I may allude to before I come to the main part of the history. He was a member of the Legislature in 1839, and the committee reported that there was no choice of Governor, so the choice would go into the Legislature where Mr. Everett, the whig candidate, was sure to be elected. But some clerk whom Mr. Allen had employed came to him and said in great secrecy that he had discovered an error in the count, which elected Mr. Morton by one majority. Mr. Allen was a very zealous man, in favor of his own opinions, but he disclosed the fact to the House, and Governor Morton was declared elected.

He was called upon to preside at a case in the midst of the slavery conflict. A fugitive slave concealed himself on board a vessel in New Orleans and came to Massachusetts, and off near Scituate he was discovered, and made his escape over the side of the ship and got nearly to the shore. He was pursued by the master of the vessel, overtaken, and carried back to New Orleans. The master on his next arrival here was indicted for kidnapping. Charles Allen presided over the court, and everybody thought that we had got one man whom we could make an example of, but the judge held that the place where the slave was seized was outside the body of the county, and that the indictment would not lie, and discharged the man.

The report of the Treasurer, NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M., was presented in print.

The Librarian's report was presented by Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON.

Voted, that the report of the Council be referred to the Committee of Publication.

The Society voted to adopt the suggestion of the Council that a Biographer be appointed whose duty shall be to prepare or procure suitable biographical notices of deceased members.

Messrs. JOHN NOBLE and BENJAMIN T. HILL, appointed a committee to collect ballots for the election of President, reported a unanimous vote for the re-election of Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY.

It was announced by the President, that Dr. THOMAS C. MENDENHALL had resigned as a member of the Council, and that WILLIAM A. SMITH, Esq., after seventeen years of service, had resigned as Auditor.

A committee of three, consisting of Messrs. SAMUEL A. GREEN, JAMES W. BROOKS and EZRA S. STEARNS, was appointed to nominate a list of the other officers. The Committee reported as follows :

Vice-Presidents :

Hon. GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL.D., of Worcester.
Rev. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D., of Roxbury.

Council :

Hon. SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, LL.D., of Boston.
Rev. EGBERT COFFIN SMYTH, D.D., of Andover.
SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M., of Worcester.
Hon. EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS, A.M., of Worcester.
JEREMIAH EVARTS GREENE, B.A., of Worcester.
GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL.D., of Worcester.
WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A.M., of Providence,
Rhode Island.
Hon. JOHN DAVIS WASHBURN, LL.B., of Worcester.

HON. JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, A.M., of Portland, Maine.

HON. HENRY STEDMAN NOURSE, A.M., of Lancaster.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence:

FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, M.A., of New Haven, Connecticut.

Secretary for Domestic Correspondence:

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., of Lincoln.

Recording Secretary:

CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

Treasurer:

NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M., of Worcester.

Committee of Publication:

REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D., of Roxbury.

NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M., of Worcester.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

CHARLES CARD SMITH, A.M., of Boston.

Auditors:

AUGUSTUS GEORGE BULLOCK, A.M., of Worcester.

BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL, A.B., of Worcester.

Finance Committee:

HON. STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M., of Worcester.

HON. EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS, A.M., of Worcester.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

Library Committee:

HON. STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M., of Worcester.

NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M., of Worcester.

The report of the committee was accepted, and the foregoing officers were elected by ballot.

The following gentlemen, recommended by the Council, were elected members :—

Leslie Stephen, Litt.D., of London, England.

Prof. Arthur Herbert Church, D.Sc., of Shelsley, Kew Gardens, England.

Rev. Thomas Franklin Waters, A.B., of Ipswich.

Albert Matthews, A.B., of Boston.

Edmund Arthur Engler, Ph.D., of Worcester.

Prof. George Lyman Kittredge, LL.D., of Cambridge.

Samuel Walker McCall, LL.D., of Winchester.

Dr. EDWARD EVERETT HALE spoke of the bi-centennial celebration at Yale University. He said :

The occasion passed off magnificently, and was conducted with a great spirit of enthusiasm. The city of New Haven and the State of Connecticut gave themselves up to it with perfect unanimity. The illuminations and decorations were in great profusion. I would like to say a word of Judge Brewer's address, for whom I have the greatest respect and admiration ; he has been in the Supreme Court, and took great interest in the arbitration movement, and of course his reputation as a jurist is well known, but I did not know he was an orator. The whole occasion was admirable, and I would be glad if some record of it could go into our report. I was honored by being one of the delegates to represent this Society there, and the welcome and hospitality with which we were received are beyond all praise.

I do not like to sit down without thanking Vice-President HOAR for the admirable historical paper he has read this morning, and I hope he may print every syllable of it. It is true that the generation before our own is the one of which we know the least. He will remember that in those times I differed from him in many matters, but I have lived to see that every word he has said of Judge Allen's

position can be justified through and through by the history of the times. I am sure it is such papers that give interest to our meetings, and I hope to persuade gentlemen to bring as many papers of history as they possibly can. I am chairman of the Committee of Publication, and it has been my fortunate position to communicate with the government at Washington in regard to the printing of the Algonquin Dictionary. Dr. HALE spoke of John Eliot's Bible in the Algonquin language, and of the usefulness of Dr. Trumbull's Dictionary in connection with the study of this Bible.

A medal to commemorate the Yale Bi-centennial Celebration was presented to the Society by the University through Prof. DEXTER.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., read a paper on "The Confederacy and The Transvaal: A People's Obligation to Robert E. Lee."

A testimonial to the life, character and writings of the late historian, John Fiske, LL.D., of Cambridge, was presented by Mr. SAMUEL S. GREEN.

Prof. E. HARLOW RUSSELL read a paper by our associate, JOHN BELLows, A.M., of Gloucester, England, entitled "The England of the Time of the War of Independence."

A paper from Prof. FREDERIC W. PUTNAM on "The Progress of Archæology and Ethnology" was read by Rev. AUSTIN S. GARVER.

Prof. GEORGE H. HAYNES read an account of the Tantiusque Lead Mine at Sturbridge, Mass., in the 17th century, and John Winthrop, Jr.'s part in the development of the mine.

A copy of a letter from Increase Mather to Joseph Parsons, dated 1705, was read by Mr. J. EVARTS GREENE, as follows :—

Mr. PARSONS.

You cannot but know that talebearing is an abominable Evill. Pro: 6. 19. & 20. 19. Lev: 19. 16. And that slandering is so, Especially for a Man that ventures to take the word of God into his mouth. Psalm. 50. 16, 19, 20. These Evills I doubt you have been very guilty of. Your Carrying a tale (and things false with it) to Mr. Pemberton Concerning Something which I said of him, whereby to Cause discord, was a vile thing in You. You pretend a great respect to the Ministers in the North to them, but at Mr. Pemberton's table, you Could unworthily reflect on them, at which Mrs. Pemberton was troubled & desired you to forbear such reflections. When I spoke to you of this, you said that it was in the way of a flout, that she did so. In this you have wronged Her. She, I know, has too great a respect for Mee & for my Son too, than to flout at Either of us. The things which you told me of Mr. Cutler, He utterly denies, and I am satisfied that you have slandered him.

You told me that at the Colledge, Mr. Whiting of Windham, with the principall schollars (and among others you mentioned Mr. Corwin, which I was amazed at) that they sat up all night drinking of Punch & playing at Cards. I beleive you have grievously slandered them. I have also been informed that you have reported another horrid scandall of the said Mr. Whiting. And I hear that you have slandered the Fellows of the Colledge to Mr. Stoddard. The Lord Humble you & pardon you.

Your Condition is the more Lamentable in that 'tis to be feared that you are Habituated to this Course. I hear that the people of Lebanon have made Complaints of this nature Concerning you & that some in Malden found you in falshoods, which made them Averse from you. I had a great while Such Charity for you as to think you did not devise Slanders. But I lately understand that some of my Neighbours are sensible of your falseness, so that 'tis high time for me to tell you of these things; & I wish I had done it sooner. Considering Lev. 19. 17, I have

thought it my duty plainly & faithfully to advise you of them particularly. I pray the Lord to give you an heart seriously to repent of them; otherwise you have Cause to fear y^t y^e Scripture will be fulfilled. Numb: 32, 23. I am your well wishing friend.

May 3, 1711.

I. MATHER.

To Mr. Joseph Parsons.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES furnished a biography of ROBERT NOXON TOPPAN, which concluded the exercises.

Before adjournment, the members accepted the invitation of the President to lunch at his house.

Dissolved.

CHARLES A. CHASE,

Recording Secretary.

NOTE. A second paper on the Society's Land Titles, received since the meeting, is published with this number of the Proceedings.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE committee chosen to visit the library report that it is in excellent condition. The courtesy and fidelity of the Librarian have made it exceedingly useful to the members and to the public.

The Society was represented at the recent 200th anniversary of the founding of Yale College, by Vice-President Edward E. Hale, D.D., and Frederick J. Kingsbury, LL.D.

The Council deem it expedient that a Biographer be appointed by the Council, whose duty it shall be to prepare or procure suitable biographical notices of deceased members.

Notices of deceased members, Hon. William Wirt Henry of Virginia, and of the Hon. Cushman Kellogg Davis of Minnesota, are promised for the Proceedings.

Cushman Kellogg Davis was born at Henderson, Jefferson County, New York, June 16, 1838, and died at St. Paul, Minnesota, November 27, 1900. On his mother's side he was descended from Robert Cushman and Mary Allerton, the last survivor of the company which came over in the Mayflower. He was graduated at the University of Michigan in 1857, and admitted to the Bar shortly before the breaking out of the Civil War. He enlisted at the beginning of the War and served as First Lieutenant of Company B, Eighth Wisconsin Regiment, until 1864, when he was compelled by physical infirmity to resign his commission. He was an excellent soldier. He sustained an injury to one of his eyes, which caused him much pain through life, until a few years before his death he lost the sight of that eye altogether.

After his return from the war, he began the practice of the law anew, in which he gained great distinction. For many years, and until his death, he was the acknowledged leader of the Bar of his State. He was a member of the State Legislature of Minnesota in 1867, United States District Attorney from 1868 till 1873, and Governor of the State in 1874 and 1875. He was one of the Regents of the State University of Minnesota from 1892 to 1898. In 1887 he was elected United States Senator, and re-elected in 1893 and 1899. He held the office of Senator until his death. He was Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations from March, 1897, till his death. He was one of the Commissioners who negotiated the Treaty of Paris with Spain.

He was a great lover of books, of which he had a costly collection. He knew Shakespeare very thoroughly, and was the author of a book called "The Law of Shakespeare."

He was also a zealous and thorough student of the career of Napoleon, whose civic and military career he greatly admired. His mind was a marvellous storehouse of literary gems which were unknown to most scholars, but rewarded his diligent search and loving study of his books.

Many good stories are told by his companions of the Bar and in public life of his apt quotations. It is said that he once defended a judge in an impeachment case. The point involved was the power of the court to punish for contempt, and Davis stated in support of his position the splendid and well-known lines of Henry the Fourth, in the famous scene where the Chief Justice punishes the Prince of Wales for contempt of the judicial office and authority. For this anecdote, the writer is indebted to Senator Lodge. In the Senate, during the Hawaiian debate, he quoted this passage from Juvenal:

"Sed quo cecidit sub crimine; quisnam
Delator? quibus iudicis; quo teste probavit?
Nil horum; verbosa et grandis epistola venit
A Capreis. Bene habet; nul plus interrogo."

He then proceeded :

My friend from Massachusetts (Mr. Hoar) requests me to translate that. He does not need it, of course. But another Senator (Mr. Washburn) suggests that some of the rest of us do. I will not attempt to give a literal translation, but I will give an accurate paraphrase, which will show its application: "Into what crime has he fallen? By what informer has he been accused? What judge has passed upon him? What witness has testified against him? Not one or any of these. A verbose and turgid message has come over from Capri. That settles it. I will interrogate no further."

The most ardent admirers of the then President, Mr. Cleveland, could not help joining in the laugh.

Mr. Davis took great delight in his descent from the early settlers of Plymouth, and valued exceedingly the good will of the people of Massachusetts. The members of the Society who were fortunate enough to meet him will not forget their delight in his pleasant companionship, when he visited Massachusetts a few years ago to attend our meeting and contribute a paper to our Proceedings. He had hoped to repeat the visit.

The writer prefers, instead of undertaking to complete this imperfect sketch by a new portraiture of his honored friend, to add what he said in the Senate, when the loss of Mr. Davis was still recent :—

MR. PRESIDENT: There is no Senator who would not be glad to lay a wreath of honor and affection on the monument of Cushman K. Davis. That, however, is more especially the right of his colleague and his successor and the members of the great committee where he won so much of his fame. I ought to say but a few words.

The Senate, as its name implies, has been from the beginning, with few exceptions, an assembly of old men. In the course of nature many of its members die in office. That has been true of thirty-eight Senators since I came to the Capitol. Others, a yet larger number, die soon after they leave office. Of the men with whom I have served in this Chamber fifty-eight more are now

dead, making in all ninety-six, enough and to spare to organize another Senate elsewhere. To that number has been added every Vice-President but two. Upon those who have died in office eulogies have been pronounced in this Chamber and in the House. The speakers have obeyed the rule demanded by the decencies of funeral occasions—*nil de mortuis nisi bonum*—if not the command born of a tenderer pity for human frailty—*jam parce sepulto*. But in general, with scarcely an exception, the portraitures have been true and faithful. They prove that the people of the American States, speaking through their legislative assemblies, are not likely to select men to represent them in this august assembly who are lacking in high qualities either of intellect or of character. However that may be, it is surely true of Mr. Davis that whatever has been or will be said of him today, or was said of him when the news of his death first shocked the country, is just what would have been said when he was alive by any man who knew him. I have served with him here nearly fourteen years. I have agreed with him and I have differed from him in regard to matters of great pith and moment which deeply stirred the feelings of the people, as they did mine, and doubtless did his own. I never heard any man speak of him but with respect and kindness.

Of course, Mr. President, in this great century which is just over, when our Republic—this infant Hercules—has been growing from its cradle to its still youthful manhood, the greatest place for a live man has been that of a soldier in time of war and that of a statesman in time of peace. Cushman K. Davis was both. He did a man's full duty in both. No man values more than I do the function of the man of letters. No man reveres more than I do the man of genius who in a loving and reverent way writes the history of a great people, or the poet from whose lyre comes the inspiration which induces heroic action in war and peace. But I do not admit that the title of the historian or that of the poet to the gratitude and affection of mankind is greater than that of the soldier who saves nations, or that of the statesman who creates or preserves them, or who makes them great. I have no patience when I read that famous speech of Gladstone, he and Tennyson being together on a journey, when he modestly puts Mr. Tennyson's title to the gratitude of mankind far above his own. Gladstone, then prime minister, declared that Tennyson would be remembered long after he was forgotten. That may be true. But whether a man be remembered or whether he be forgotten; whether his work be appreciated or no; whether his work be known or unknown at the time it is accomplished, is not the test of its greatness or its value to mankind. The man who keeps this moral being, or helps to keep this moral being we call a State in the paths of justice and righteousness and happiness, the direct effect of whose action is felt in the comfort and

happiness and moral life of millions upon millions of human lives, who opens and constructs great highways of commerce, who makes schools and universities not only possible but plenty, who brings to pass great policies that allure men from misery, and poverty, and oppression, and serfdom in one world, to free, contented, happy, prosperous homes in another, is a great benefactor to mankind, whether his work be accomplished with sounding of trumpets, or stamping of feet, or clapping of hands, or the roar and tumult of popular applause, or whether it be done in the silence of some committee room, and no man know it but by its results.

I am not ready to admit that even Shakespeare worked on a higher plane, or was a greater power on earth, than King Alfred or George Washington, even if it be that he will survive them both in the memory of man. The name of every man but one who fought with Leonidas at Thermopylæ is forgotten. But is *Æschylus* greater than Leonidas, or Miltiades, or Themistocles? The literature of Athens preserves to immortality the fame of its great authors. But it was Solon, and Pericles, and Miltiades that created and saved and made great the city, without which the poets could not have existed. Mr. Tennyson himself came nearer the truth than his friend, Mr. Gladstone, when he said :

He
That, through the channels of the state,
Conveys the people's wish, is great;
His name is pure; his fame is free.

There have been soldiers whose courage saved the day in great decisive battles when the fate of nations hung in the scale, yet whose most enduring monument was the column of smoke which rose when their death shot was fired. There have been statesmen whose silent influence has decided the issue when the country was at the parting of the ways, of whose service history takes no heed. The great Ohio Territory, now six imperial States, was twice saved to freedom by the almost unnoticed action of a single man. With all respect for the man of letters, we are not yet quite ready to admit that the trumpeter is better than the soldier, or the painter greater than the lion.

There is no need of many words to sum up the life and character of Cushman Davis. His life was in the daylight. Minnesota knew him. His country knew him and loved him. He was a good soldier in his youth, and a great Senator in his maturer manhood. What can be said more, or what can be said better, to sum up the life of an American citizen? He offered his life for his country when life was all before him, and his State and his country rewarded him with their highest honor. The great orator and philosopher of Rome declared in his youth, and repeated in his age, that death could not come prematurely to a man who had been consul. This man surely might be accounted ready to die.

He had discharged honorably life's highest duty, and his cup of honor and of glory was full.

We are thinking today of something more than a public sorrow. We are mourning the loss of a close and delightful companionship, a companionship which lightened public care and gave infinite pleasure to private intercourse. If he had never held office, if his name had never been heard even beyond the boundaries of a single municipality, he would have been almost anywhere a favorite and foremost citizen. He was in the first place, always a gentleman, and a true gentleman always gives tone to any company in which he is found, whether it be among the rulers of States or the humblest gathering of friendly neighbors. Lord Erskine said on a great occasion :

It is impossible to define in terms the proper feelings of a gentleman ; but their existence has supported this country for many ages, and she might perish if they were lost.

Certainly our friend had this quality. He was everywhere a gentleman. He met every occasion in life with a simple and quiet courtesy. There was not much of deference in it. There was no yielding or supplication or timidity in it. I do not think he ever asked favors, though no man was more willing to grant them. But there is something more than this in the temper of which I am speaking. The man who possesses it gives unconsciously to himself or to his associates tone to every circle, as I just said, in which he is found. So, wherever he was, his manner of behavior prevailed, whatever might have happened to the same men if they had been left alone.

Senator Davis was a man who kept well his own counsel. He was a man to whom it was safe for other men to trust their counsel. His conversation, to which it was always a delight to listen, had no gossip in it. Still less had it ever anything of ill nature or sarcasm. He liked to share with a friend the pleasure he took in finding some flower or gem of literature which, for long ages till he found it in some out-of-the-way nook, had—

Blushed unseen,
And wasted its sweetness on the desert air.

He had what Jeremy Taylor calls " the great endearment of prudent and temperate speech."

His conversation was sparkling and witty and full of variety, but no spark from him was ever a cinder in the eye of his friend.

He had a learning rare among public men, and, for its variety, rare, I think, among scholars. He would bring out bits of history, full of interest and instruction, from the most obscure sources, in common conversation. He was an excellent Latin scholar. He had read and mastered Tacitus, and a man who has mastered Tacitus has had the best gymnastic training of the

intellect, both in vigor and style, which the resources of all literature can supply.

One secret of his great popularity with his companions here—a popularity I think unexcelled; indeed, I incline to think unequalled by that of any other man with whom I have served—is that to which the late Justin Morrill owed so much. He never debated. He rarely answered other men's arguments, never with warmth or heat. But he was exceedingly tenacious of his own opinion. He was, in the things he stood for, as unyielding as flint and true as steel. But his flint or steel never struck out a spark by collision with any other. He spoke very rarely in debate in general; only when his official place on his committee, or something which concerned his own constituents especially, made speaking absolutely imperative. Then he gave his opinion as a judge gives it, or as a delegate to some great international council might be supposed to give it; responsible for it himself, but undertaking no responsibility for other men's opinion or conduct; never assuming that it was his duty or within his power to convert, or change, or instruct them, still less to chastise them. Whether that way be the best way for usefulness in a deliberative body, especially in a legislative body of a great popular government, I will not undertake now to say. Certainly it is not the common way here or elsewhere. It is very rare indeed, that any man possessing the great literary and oratorical power of Mr. Davis, especially a man to whom nobody ever thought of imputing timidity or undue desire to enjoy public favor, or want of absolute confidence in his own opinions, will be found to refrain from employing these qualities to persuade or convince other men.

He had a rare and exquisite gift which, if he had been a man of letters and not a man engaged in a strenuous public life, would have brought him great fame. Once in a while he said something in private, and more rarely, though once or twice, in a public speech, which reminded you of the delicate touch of Hawthorne. His likening President Cleveland and Mr. Blount, looking upon the late royalty of the Sandwich Islands with so much seriousness, to Don Quixote and Sancho Panza taking in great earnest the spectacle of a theatrical representation at a country fair and eager to rescue the distressed damsel, was one of the most exquisite felicities of the literature of the Senate.

He had great pride in his ancestry, and was a great lover of the history of New England and Plymouth, from which they came, though he never gave himself airs on account of it. He was a descendant of Robert Cushman, the preacher of the Pilgrims, whose service was in a thousand ways of such value to the little colony at Plymouth. Yet it had never happened to him to visit the scenes with which the feet of his ancestors had been so familiar, until a few years ago he did me the honor to be my

guest in Massachusetts, and spent a few days in visiting her historic places. He gazed upon Boston and Plymouth and Concord reverently as ever Moslem gazed upon Mecca or the feet of palmer stood by the holy sepulchre. That week to him was crowded with a delight with which few other hours in his life could compare. I had hoped that it might be my fortune and his that he might visit Massachusetts again, that her people might gather in her cities to do him honor, and might learn to know him better, and might listen to the sincere eloquence of his voice. But it was ordered otherwise.

There are other things his country had hoped for him. She had hoped a longer and higher service, perhaps the highest service of all. But the fatal and inexorable shaft has stricken him down in the full vigor of a yet strenuous manhood. The great transactions in which he had borne so large a part still remain incomplete and their event is still uncertain.

There is a painting which a great Italian master left unfinished. The work was taken up and completed by a disciple. The finished picture bears this inscription: "What Titian left unfinished Palma reverently completed and dedicated to God." So may our beloved Republic find always, when one servant leaves his work unfinished, another who will take it up and dedicate it to the country and to God.

G. F. H.

Robert Noxon Toppan was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 17 October, 1836. His father, Charles Toppan, was a native of Newburyport, Massachusetts, where the family has always held high social rank, intermarrying with the Sewalls, Pikes, and others prominent in church and state. His mother, from whom his middle name was derived, was Laura A. Noxon, daughter of Dr. Robert Noxon of Poughkeepsie, New York. On both sides of the house, Mr. Toppan came of ancestors who saw service during the Revolutionary struggle. His grandfather, Edward Toppan, served throughout the war, was engaged in several battles, and was with Washington's army at Valley Forge; while his maternal great-grandfather, Captain Lazarus Ruggles, was severely wounded in the battle of White Plains.

During his youth, Mr. Toppan travelled much abroad with his parents, and was fitted for college by private tutors. Returning home, he entered the Harvard Class of

1858 during the sophomore year, and took creditable rank, which, at graduation, entitled him to fellowship in the fraternity of Phi Beta Kappa. Of that society he was ever after an active member, and for many years rendered valuable service on its committees. In the junior and senior years, he had a part in two exhibitions,—a Greek dialogue with George E. Francis and a disquisition. He also had an oration at Commencement. Of other college societies, Mr. Toppan was a member of the Institute of 1770, Hasty Pudding Club, Alpha Delta Phi, and the Harvard Natural History Society. He was also a member of his Class Committee.

After graduation, Mr. Toppan studied law in New York, in the office of Tracy, Wait and Olmstead; attended the law lectures at Columbia College, which gave him the degree of LL.B. in May, 1861; was admitted to the New York bar on the fourth of the following June, and began practice at No. 6 Wall Street.

In 1862, he went to Europe, where he remained several years, although he made occasional visits to the United States during his residence abroad, where he travelled extensively and became a proficient linguist. It was at this period of his life that he was disappointed in the hope of entering the diplomatic service. He was offered the position of Secretary of Legation at Madrid by the Hon. John P. Hale, then the American Minister at the Court of Spain. Shortly after his acceptance of this appointment, a sudden illness compelled him to relinquish it.

On the sixth of October, 1880, Mr. Toppan was married to Miss Sarah M. Cushing, daughter of the Hon. William Cushing of Newburyport, Massachusetts, and niece of the Hon. Caleb Cushing. By her he had two sons and two daughters, of whom one daughter died in childhood. After a brief sojourn in Europe and a short residence in Newburyport, he removed, in 1882, to Cambridge where he built a spacious house in one of the most attractive

parts of the city. Here, for nearly a score of years, possessed of an ample fortune, surrounded by his family, his friends and his books, he lived the life of a highly cultivated gentleman, scholar and man of affairs. He was deeply interested in historical research, especially in the subject of money, upon which he wrote and published several monographs. His knowledge of Numismatics was extensive, and he possessed some superb specimens of the gold and silver coins used by the ancients.

Mr. Toppan was a trustee of the American Bank Note Company, of which his father was a founder. Our late associate served on the International Coinage Committee of the American Social Science Association, and, in 1878, was a delegate to the International Congress for the unification of weights, measures and money. While Mr. Toppan's rapid utterance and indistinct enunciation unfitted him for public speaking, he never shrank from the performance of a public duty nor allowed his peculiarity of speech or his innate modesty to prevent a public expression of his opinions when the occasion demanded it.

Mr. Toppan's loyalty to Harvard, where many of his kindred had been educated, prompted him to found a prize which can best be described by quoting the following paragraph from the College (annual) catalogue:—

"An Annual Prize of One Hundred and Fifty Dollars, the gift of Robert Noxon Toppan, of Cambridge, of the Class of 1858, is offered for the best essay (of sufficient merit) on a subject in Political Science. The prize is open for competition to all students of the Graduate School or of any of the Professional Schools, who have received an academic degree, and to all graduates of Harvard College of not more than three years' standing.

The prize was first awarded, in 1882, to F. W. Taussig, now Professor of Political Economy."

Mr. Toppan was a member of the American Philosophical Society; the Massachusetts Historical Society;

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, in which he took a deep and active interest; the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia; the American Historical Association; the Historical Society of Old Newbury, in the prosperity of which he was especially interested; the Prince Society, of which he was for several years and until his death the Corresponding Secretary; the Century Club of New York; and the Massachusetts Reform Club. He was also a director of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, and of the Charles River National Bank of Cambridge.

In 1861, Mr. Toppan translated and published Jouffroy's *Ethics*. This was followed by *The Historical Succession of Monetary Metallic Standards*, 1877, published by the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York; *A Unit of Eight Grammes*, 1879; *Some Modern Monetary Questions Viewed in the Light of Antiquity*, 1881; *Brief Biographical Sketches*, published by the Historical Society of Old Newbury, 1885, on the occasion of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of the town; *Monetary Unification*, 1888; *The Right to Coin Under the Colonial Charters*, 1894, in the *Transactions of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts*; *A Hundred Years of Bank Note Engraving in the United States*, 1896; *The Failure to Establish an Hereditary Political Aristocracy in the Colonies*, 1897, in the *Transactions of The Colonial Society*; the *Andros Records*, published in the *Proceedings of this Society*; the *Dudley Records*, in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*; and *Edward Randolph*, in five volumes, quarto, for the Prince Society. Upon this last-mentioned work Mr. Toppan was engaged for seven or eight years, gathering the materials for it from the Massachusetts Archives, from the English Public Record Office and other public depositories in London, from the Bodleian Library and from private collections in England. At a Stated Meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, held in June of this year, the Rev. Dr.

Slafter, President of the Prince Society, paid a warm tribute to Mr. Toppan's memory, in the course of which he said :—

"This monograph on Edward Randolph is the *magnum opus* of Mr. Toppan's historical career. It was his first and, we regret to say, his last great work. It is a monument of which any scholar might well be proud. By his sagacity, perseverance, and unwearied diligence, he has brought together, in original documents, the means of forming a just opinion of the character, the aims, purposes and motives of Edward Randolph as a loyal subject and agent of the English crown. The historian is, and will forever be, under special obligations to Mr. Toppan, for the achievement of this important work."

The writer's personal acquaintance with Mr. Toppan began about the time of a simultaneous election to fellowship in this Society, in April, 1885. He was a most delightful neighbor and friend. His was a charming personality. With a heart overflowing with affection for those nearest and dearest to him, and with sympathy for all who needed it, gentle and refined in thought and deed, possessing a mind stored with interesting reminiscences of foreign travel, which were always at the command of his retentive memory, his companionship was prized by those who were privileged to enjoy it. He was active in good works, intensely patriotic, a hater of everything that was not genuine and true, and a generous giver of time, service and money where they were needed in cases and causes which enlisted his sympathy. Small in stature, but robust and rugged in appearance,—indeed, the picture of health,—his friends and neighbors had anticipated for him a vigorous and serene old age. His sudden, fatal illness came, therefore, as a surprise, and his death, on the tenth of May, brought sorrow to many hearts besides those of his own household.

H. H. E.

For the Council,

GEORGE F. HOAR.

CHARLES ALLEN OF WORCESTER.

BY GEORGE F. HOAR.

IF I need any justification for my choice of a subject, or for repeating things which will be very familiar to the elders in my audience, you will permit me to relate an anecdote. A few years ago an inhabitant of Worcester County, very well known and influential in the public life of this Commonwealth, told me that an aged townsman of his had said that the ablest man he ever knew was a former resident of Worcester, of whose character and influence he spoke with very great enthusiasm. But my informant said he could not remember the name. I said, "Was it Charles Allen?" "Yes," was the reply, "I think that was the name."

Our associate, Mr. Rhodes, in his admirable History, mentions Judge Allen in but a single sentence, and that one expressing an emphatic disapproval of one of the important acts of his public life.

To those of us whose memory goes back to the great days of the anti-slavery struggle it seems as surprising to find a man who had never heard of Charles Allen as to find a man who had never heard of his illustrious kinsman Sam Adams. Yet, I suppose that thirty or forty years after the close of a great political career or a great historic period is generally the time when mankind at large know least about it. Memory has begun to fade. Contemporaries are dead or grown old. History is not yet written. The documents and records which are the material for accurate history have not yet come to light.

The life of Charles Allen was in a stormy time. It became his duty to engage in bitter conflicts. After his

lamented death it did not seem desirable to those who had the best right to determine the question that those fires should be rekindled. But the story of Judge Allen's great service to liberty and of the battle in which he was one of the greatest leaders can be told now without causing pain to any one. The men who were conspicuous on both sides have gone, with very few exceptions. The people have paid to them their tribute of love and honor. They know that men who differed widely were faithful to the cause of righteousness as they believed it, and to the interest of the country as they understood it. I have often said that Charles Allen seemed to me, as a mere intellectual force, the ablest man I have known in my day, not even excepting Daniel Webster. He had a slender physical frame and a weak voice. He was not capable of severe or continued labor. He had little personal ambition. It was only under the stimulant of a great cause that he put forth his best powers; and when the pressure of that stimulant ceased, his activity seemed to cease also.

Charles Allen was born in the town of Worcester, Aug. 9th, 1797, just seventy-two years before the day of his burial. He was of the best Puritan stock. His father, Joseph Allen, was a distinguished and public-spirited citizen, clerk of the courts, and a member of Congress in 1810 and 1811. Judge Allen's great-grandfather was Samuel Adams, the father of the illustrious patriot, who manifested in a high degree the intellectual and moral traits for which his descendants were so conspicuous. *The Independent Advertiser* of March 14, 1748, contains the following notice of the elder Samuel Adams:—"Last Week died, and was decently interr'd the Remains of, *Samuel Adams, Esq.*; a Gentleman who sustained many public, Offices among us, and for some Years past represented this town in the General Assembly—He was one who well understood and rightly pursued the Civil and Religious Interests of this People—A true *New England*

man — An honest Patriot — Help, Lord, for such wise and godly men cease, and such faithful members fail from among the Sons of *New England*.” The only son of the famous Samuel Adams died before his father. Joseph Allen, who was often a member of the Legislature, found a home in the household of his illustrious kinsman, to whom he was as a son, and for many years shared his inmost confidence as it was given to no other person whatever. The traditions of Sam Adams were familiar to the family of Joseph Allen. His mental and moral traits; his opinions; his inflexible principles; his ardent and unquenchable love of liberty; his style and mode of speech; his features as they are represented in Copley’s masterpiece in Faneuil Hall, — were reproduced in large degree in the sons of Joseph Allen.¹ Charles Allen entered Yale College in 1811, but was never graduated. He studied law in the office of Samuel M. Burnside. His preparation was a most diligent and faithful study of common law principles in a very few standard authorities, especially Blackstone, in whose style, clear definitions and orderly arrangement he very much delighted, and much of which he could repeat almost verbatim. He was not given to an extensive study of cases. Indeed, in his preparation for arguments at the bar, after a thorough examination of a very few leading cases, he did not care for a study of decisions of the courts, but preferred to mature his arguments in his own mind during his solitary walks into the country, or as he paced backward and forward in his office. But I was told by his brother George that when he was examined for admission to the Bar the examiners were so delighted by the extent of his learning and his prompt and clear solution of the legal problems by which they tested him that they prolonged the examination a good while for their own gratification.

¹ There is a lady living now, the widow of our late Librarian, Mr. Haven, who is of the race of Charles Allen, and at times when her face is lighted up by some emotion, you would think Sam Adams was standing before you.

Mr. Allen's literary training was of a like character. He made himself very familiar with English classic poetry. He read the entire fifty volumes of the old edition of the British Poets. With a few of these he made himself so familiar that he could repeat their best passages. Beyond this he never cared much to extend his reading, except that he made himself familiar with the great historians who have written the annals of constitutional liberty. He had a great fondness for the history of New England. He knew all about the growth of its religious opinions and of the simple Congregational form of church government which is both the cause and the result of so much that is best in the character of our people. With these exceptions, he was not what would be called a scholar. He cared nothing for the trifles either of history or literature. His preparation for the duties of his profession and of life was by profound original thought. He was admitted to the Bar at the age of twenty-one, and began his professional life in New Braintree. In 1824 he returned to Worcester, which was his home for the rest of his life.

From this time until the movement for the annexation of Texas in 1844-5, the career of Charles Allen was that of a leader at the very able Bar of a large county; of an eminent judge; of a man influential in the public life of the community where he lived, and of the Commonwealth. With a single exception, to be mentioned presently, he had taken no part in national affairs. His name was little known beyond the borders of Massachusetts except to such members of his profession as had heard of him from their brethren here. He soon became known as a powerful advocate whose opinions on questions of law were quite sure to be those finally adopted by the court; whom it was almost impossible to dislodge from any position he deliberately occupied; and from whom no antagonist could wrest a verdict of a Worcester County jury in a cause in whose justice he himself believed. There is but one

story preserved by the traditions of the Bar of his making any serious mistake. It is said that, getting an execution for a client for a large debt, which was to be satisfied by a levy on land of a debtor who was deeply insolvent, where he had the first attachment, under his direction a portion of a large tract of land in which the debtor had an undivided interest was set off by metes and bounds, a proceeding which is, as is well known to all good lawyers now, utterly void. The young man discovered his mistake just after it was too late to correct it. He was much distressed and came to Worcester to consult old Major Newton, one of the wisest and safest of our elder lawyers. The Major advised Mr. Allen to say nothing about the mistake, but at once to bring a writ of entry against the owner of the title in the hope that the mistake might not be discovered, and that he might get a judgment or a disclaimer. This was done, and the flaw in the title of the Judge's client was never discovered until he had made it perfect.

He never could get interested in a case in which he did not believe. He had no fondness for exercising his ingenuity in the defence of a cause which did not seem to him just. But when his sympathies were aroused by what he deemed an attempt to practise an injustice upon his client, he was, I believe, as formidable an antagonist as ever tried a case in a Massachusetts court-house. His cross-examination was terrible. It dragged a lying witness out of all concealments or subterfuges and seemed to lay bare the very depths of his soul. His style was a model of nervous, compact, vigorous English, rising sometimes to a very lofty eloquence. He had a gift of sarcasm which he indulged sometimes when it would have been better to restrain it, and inflicted an undeserved sting upon amiable and sensitive men. His ordinary manner in the trial of a cause was quiet. He remained silent while the evidence was going in, except in the most important parts of the

case, and even a very able lawyer might try a case against him which did not excite special interest on the part of Mr. Allen, without discovering his great power.

His quality as an advocate is well described by a most competent and accomplished observer, the late Dwight Foster, as follows:—"He never called any man his intellectual master. Though the ordinary methods of legal investigation were distasteful to him, yet he was fond of communing with his own mind in silent and profound thought. His preparation in the use of books was usually slight, but he never failed to give abundant reflection to every important matter intrusted to his professional care.

"Accordingly, he entered upon the trial of a case thoroughly prepared and equipped in his own peculiar way. His mental processes were exceedingly rapid and his intuitive judgment wonderfully correct. He was the wisest counsellor I ever called to my aid.

"In the crisis of a trial he never faltered or quailed. If his manner grew a little more quiet, his face a little paler, and a dangerous light was emitted from his eyes, his adversary had better beware, for he was sure to prove himself a tremendous antagonist. His cross-examinations were sometimes terrific. When roused he would pour forth a torrent of sarcasm and invective that like a lava flood scorched and burned everything over which it flowed. He could be eloquent upon worthy occasions. He had no cheap rhetoric for ordinary use. His legal discussions usually began with conceded elementary principles, on which as a foundation he would erect a superstructure of close and cogent argumentation. It was his custom to show what the law ought to be and in the nature of the case must be, paying comparatively little attention to what it had been on some former occasion decided to be."

When I came to the Bar in 1849, the young lawyers used to beguile the time at their meetings with anecdotes of the sharp retorts, the readiness in difficult places in a trial, and

the wonderful skill in cross-examination of Charles Allen. Most of them are forgotten now. Judge Allen represented Worcester in the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1829, 1833, 1834 and 1840. He was a member of the State Senate in 1835, 1836 and 1837. When in the House of Representatives he was one of the most influential persons in procuring the state aid for the Western Railroad, a measure to which the commercial and manufacturing prosperity of Massachusetts, and especially of the City of Worcester, have been so largely due.

Judge Allen was upon the committee to count the vote for Governor after the election of 1839. The Legislature contained a majority of Whigs, as of course did the committee who counted the votes for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor. The count resulted, according to the first enumeration by the committee, and according to their report, in showing that no person had a majority, the result of which would have been that the election would have been made by the Legislature, and Mr. Everett, the Whig candidate, would have been chosen. But it came to the knowledge of Judge Allen that an error had been made, the correction of which would show that Gov. Morton was chosen by a majority of one vote. The Judge, himself a Whig, announced this discovery to the House. The mistake was corrected and Gov. Morton declared elected.

Mr. Allen was appointed judge of the old Court of Common Pleas in 1842. This court consisted in his time of John M. Williams, Chief Justice, Charles H. Warren, Charles Allen and Solomon Strong. Probably no state in the Union at that time possessed a Supreme Court of greater ability than this, the second court in rank in Massachusetts. Chief Justice Williams was a model of the judicial character; Warren was not only a very learned and sound lawyer, but distinguished for his brilliant wit and eminent social quality. When the Democratic party

came into power in 1843 it sought to gain popular favor by a reduction of the salaries of the Supreme Judicial Court, a measure clearly opposed to the letter of the Constitution, and by a reduction of the salaries of the Court of Common Pleas, a measure equally opposed to its spirit and to all sound policy. On the return of the Whigs to power the next year, the salary of the Supreme Court was restored to its former scale, and the sum which had been unconstitutionally withheld during the year, paid. But the Whig party, desiring to get some favor from men of frugal mind, omitted to restore the salaries of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas to the old standard. Thereupon, in 1844, the members of that court, including Judge Allen, resigned, much to the public regret. During Mr. Allen's term of office the celebrated Wyman trial, in which Mr. Webster, Mr. Choate and Franklin Dexter were employed for the defence, was tried three times. One of the trials was before Judge Allen. At this trial occurred the celebrated conflict between Judge Allen and Mr. Webster. The story is variously related, even by persons who were present on the occasion. The commonly accepted version, and one which is doubtless in substance correct, is that Mr. Webster was quite uneasy under the powerful and luminous charge of the Judge, and rose once or twice to call the Judge's attention to what he supposed to be a mistake of fact or law. After one or two interruptions of this sort, Mr. Webster rising again, the Judge said, "Mr. Webster, I cannot suffer myself to be interrupted now." To which Mr. Webster replied, "I cannot suffer my client's case to be misrepresented." To which the Judge replied, "Sit down, sir." The charge proceeded without further interruption, and the jury were sent to their room. Mr. Allen then turned to Mr. Webster and said, "Mr. Webster"— Whereupon Mr. Webster rose with all the grace and courtesy of manner of which, when he chose, he was master, and said, "Will your honor pardon me a

moment," and proceeded to make a handsome apology and expression of regret for the occurrence. The occurrence was deemed by the profession greatly to the credit of both these eminent persons. Mr. Allen returned to the practice of the law, and continued to support himself by his profession, except so far as he was interrupted by his public and political occupations, until he was appointed Chief Justice of the Superior Court of the County of Suffolk by Gov. Banks, in 1858, and soon after, in the following year, was appointed Chief Justice of the Superior Court of the Commonwealth. He had been, in the interval, offered a place upon the bench of the Supreme Court, which he had declined. On the retirement of Chief Justice Shaw, in 1860, he was offered by Governor Banks the position of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. This he was compelled to decline by reason of his slender health and his incapacity for the continuous and severe labor which the duties of the judges of that court require. This fact is stated by Gov. Banks in his farewell address.

Judge Allen said to the late Judge Foster:—"At my age and in my state of health it is not to be thought of. It might have been different once, yet few know how much physical weakness I have had to contend with through life, and how much has been attributed to indolence in me which was caused by the necessity of nursing my health."

Mr. Allen held the office of Chief Justice of the Superior Court until the infirmities of old age came upon him. But there were a few terms of the court where, in summing up to the jury the evidence upon the facts, he repeated himself in a manner that showed the impairment of his faculties; but even then his statement of the legal principles applicable to the case showed his accustomed clearness, vigor and soundness of judgment.

While he was Judge of the Court of Common Pleas he

presided at several trials of great importance. In the Wyman trial already referred to, his charge won the commendation of the able members of the Bar who listened to it, including Mr. Webster himself, for its great ability. The charge of the Judge was universally conceded to be not a whit behind the argument of Webster in grasp and completeness. He also presided in a cause which was tried at Dedham, growing out of the Dorr Rebellion, in which Rufus Choate and Mr. Whipple of Rhode Island were the principal counsel. Some very intricate questions arose in the case, and the Judge's rulings were watched with great care. When one of them was made, the venerable Judge Putnam, who was present as a spectator, shook his head in dissent; but at the recess went to the Judge and told him he was right. Chief Justice Spencer of New York, who read the report of the trial, wrote to the Judge an approving and complimentary letter.

During Judge Allen's service as Chief Justice of the Superior Court, a fugitive slave who had made his escape from a New Orleans vessel, was pursued by the master of the vessel and seized just as he was landing, and taken back to slavery. The indignation of the people was deeply stirred. The captain of the vessel was arrested subsequently and brought to trial before Judge Allen. A question, then not very well settled, arose as to whether the act was committed within the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth. The people heard with great satisfaction that the kidnapper was to be brought to trial before a court presided over by the great abolitionist. But the Judge held the scales with absolute impartiality. He taught the whole people of the country that even a slave-catcher could not fail in his reliance on the justice of Massachusetts; and that her indignation against what she deemed the worst of outrages, the kidnapping of a human being, could not swerve her from her obedience to law. The man was acquitted, by reason of the ruling of the Court

that the offence was not committed within the body of the county.

Judge Allen's influence over men seemed, like that of Alexander Hamilton, to be greater in proportion to the ability of the man with whom he dealt. Great as was his power over juries and over popular assemblies, it was greater over judges and courts. He was an admirable negotiator. The extent of his service in the negotiation of the Ashburton Treaty of 1842 will never be fully known. It rests only on tradition and on the weighty evidence of Mr. Webster. There was probably never a subject in regard to which the national feeling of the American people was more deeply excited than the controversy with Great Britain concerning our northeastern boundary. In 1842 the feeling engendered by the War of the Revolution and the War of 1812 had not grown cold. Great Britain was regarded as our natural and hereditary foe. The tone of her press, the utterances of her public men and the criticism of her literary journals tended to stimulate and exasperate this feeling. The lessons of two wars had not taught her to treat us with respect. The contempt which, the Spanish proverb says, pierces the shell of the tortoise, she poured out abundantly upon nerves always unduly sensitive to the opinion of other nations. The territory which was in dispute belonged wholly to Massachusetts until the separation of Maine in 1820, and consisted very largely of unsettled lands which had been divided between Massachusetts and Maine, and were still largely owned by the former state, subject to the local jurisdiction of Maine. Every effort to settle this controversy, which had been the subject of negotiation almost ever since the peace of 1783, had but increased the difficulties with which it was beset, by exhausting the expedients both of diplomacy and arbitration. Mr. Webster undertook the settlement of this question, with others which had caused great irritation in the two coun-

tries, and probably regarded its solution as, with scarcely an exception, the most important public service of his life. The difficulty of the negotiation was increased by the fact that any treaty which should be made would require the assent of a two-thirds majority of the Senate. So that the political opponents of the administration must be willing, for patriotic reasons, to abandon the temptation of assailing it with the charge of having unduly surrendered the rights of this country to its ancient and hated rival, if the treaty contained anything of concession or compromise. It was quite clear that no treaty could pass the Senate without the consent of Maine and Massachusetts. The former state was politically opposed to Mr. Webster. His first step was to invite the co-operation of the two states immediately concerned, to request them to appoint agents to take part in the negotiation and to assure them "that no line of boundary should be agreed to without their consent, and without their consent, also, to all the conditions and stipulations of the treaty respecting the boundary." To this the two states agreed. But they further stipulated that their consent should only be given in case the agents of both states were unanimous. Maine appointed as commissioners Edward Kavanagh, Edward Kent, William P. Preble and John Otis. Massachusetts appointed Abbott Lawrence, John Mills and Charles Allen.

It is well known that to Judge Allen's influence was very largely due the success of the treaty. He went carefully over the matter with Gen. Scott. He gave the most thorough study to the whole question, especially to the matter of the military strength of the frontier as it would be left by the compromise line which was adopted. He became satisfied that whatever might be the title of Massachusetts to the lands held by Great Britain under the treaty, or whatever the right of the United States to hold them as against Great Britain, that the country and the state obtained far more than an equivalent, and that it was

especially for the interest of Massachusetts as a great commercial state that this irritating question should be forever put at rest and that our peaceful intercourse with Great Britain should be uninterrupted. It was well understood at the time that to Judge Allen's great influence was largely due the unanimous action of his associates, the commissioners of the two states. Mr. Webster himself bore the strongest testimony to this fact. Besides other instances of it, he met Judge Allen's brother, the Rev. George Allen, a short time after the treaty had been ratified, and spoke of his great obligation to his brother, and added, with great emphasis, "Your brother is a great arranger of men."

The portion of Mr. Allen's public life upon which his title to the gratitude of his countrymen chiefly rests began with the movement for the annexation of Texas, during the presidency of John Tyler. The avowed and the direct object of this annexation was to prevent the abolition of slavery in the vast territory of Texas itself, which would else become free. The ultimate object was to give the control of the government to the South; to make slave states of the territory between the Mississippi and the Pacific, to impress indelibly upon the United States the character which Macaulay attributed to her in 1845:—"That nation is the champion and upholder of slavery. They seek to extend slavery with more energy than was ever exerted by any other nation to diffuse civilization."

Up to this time Mr. Allen had been content with the duties which came to him as a leading member of his profession and a leading citizen of this important community. He was fond of social and family life. His profession, in which he was easily the leader in Worcester County, gave him an income sufficient to support his family and indulge his frugal tastes. The highest places on the bench of his state were open to him. But the kinsman of Sam Adams could not be indifferent

to the momentous issues which were at stake in the coming conflict with the slave power. Mr. Allen issued a call for a convention in Worcester County in the autumn of 1844. This was followed by the state convention called under the advice of Mr. Webster, held at Faneuil Hall, on the 29th day of January, 1845.

The annexation of Texas and the war with Mexico are wonderful examples among those so numerous in our history where the God who is on the side of Freedom has graciously turned the evil purposes of men to the accomplishment of his will. During the period which followed the administration of Andrew Jackson the statesmen of the South became alarmed for the power which that section had wielded in the government, with the brief exception of the administration of John Adams and that of his son, from the beginning. It had been an unequal contest between the great skill as politicians of the Southerners and the strength and progress which free institutions had brought to the North. Mr. Calhoun and his associates proposed to turn the scale in favor of the South by the addition of Texas. Some of them doubtless contemplated even at that day the disruption of the Union and a slaveholding empire whose northern boundary should be Mason and Dixon's line, which should extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific, should include Cuba and a large portion, if not the whole, of the territory of Mexico. Mr. Van Buren, who had never failed before in subserviency to the slave power, refused to become a party to the plan. John Tyler, who had been placed upon the ticket with General Harrison to conciliate the friends of Mr. Clay in Virginia, was thoroughly devoted to this scheme for strengthening and extending slavery.

Texas declared her independence during the presidency of Andrew Jackson. In the last Congress of President Jackson's administration an appropriation was made and authority given to enable him to establish diplomatic rela-

tions with Texas when, in his judgment, the proper time had come. This measure was supported by representatives of both parties and both sections, including Mr. Webster. President Jackson, with what to many people seemed undue haste, instantly acted upon the authority and recognized the independence of Texas. This recognition was followed by an overture from Texas for admission to the Union during the administration of Mr. Van Buren. Mr. Van Buren rejected the overture, in which he was supported by Mr. Benton and other leading Southern Democrats. But Van Buren forever forfeited the confidence of the mass of the slaveholders thereby. Mr. Webster, in his great speech at Niblo's Garden, early in the year 1837, took very strong ground against the admission of Texas, claiming that the admission of a foreign state to our Union was not within the constitutional power of the government; and, further, that while he proposed to sustain to their fullest extent the existing constitutional provisions which favored slavery, he would not submit to extending them beyond the original territory of the Union and thereby disturbing the relations of the different parts of the country to each other. The opposition of the Democratic president and the great Whig statesman seemed for a time to put an end to the project. Texas withdrew her offer and seemed to be intent on establishing herself as a separate nation. The question was scarcely heard of in the great campaign of 1840. But the death of General Harrison brought John Tyler into the chair and gave the slave power its opportunity. When President Tyler abandoned the fiscal policy of his party the members of his cabinet resigned, except Mr. Webster, who remained until the Ashburton Treaty with Great Britain was completed. But, while his friendly relations with President Tyler were unbroken, Mr. Webster was made to feel in many ways that his presence at the council table was unwelcome. He accordingly resigned

his seat in the cabinet and was succeeded, first by Mr. Grimke, then by Mr. Upshur, who, soon after, gave place to Mr. Calhoun. The project of Texas annexation was thereafter vigorously pressed to its consummation. Mr. Calhoun negotiated the treaty with Texas, providing for its coming as a state into the Union, which was rejected by the Senate, for want of the two-thirds vote required by the Constitution. The issue was presented to the people of the United States in the presidential campaign of 1844, and was decided by the election of James K. Polk. Mr. Clay, although opposed to the annexation of Texas under the circumstances then existing, tried to conciliate the slaveholders by a statement that, under some circumstances, he should have personally no objection to the measure. He failed to gain any Southern friends of Texas, and lost the confidence of many anti-slavery men at the North, whose vote, given to James G. Birney, cost Mr. Clay the State of New York, and with it the election.

At the short session of 1844-5, at the close of President Tyler's administration, and after the election of Mr. Polk, a joint resolution was adopted, giving the consent of Congress to the erection of a new state from the territory of Texas, on certain conditions therein set forth, in order that the same might be admitted into the Union; and to the admission of such state whenever the time and conditions of such admission and of the cession to the United States of the remaining territory of Texas should be agreed upon by the two governments.

Texas complied with the conditions in the interval, and Congress passed a joint resolution in December, 1845, declaring the conditions complied with and formally admitting Texas as a state. After the passage of the first resolution above-named a division grew up in the Whig party between those persons who desired to resist the admission of Texas to the end, and who claimed that this action of Congress could and ought to be repealed; and

those who, either because they considered further agitation useless, or because they thought that the business interests of the North required the subject to be dropped, or because the gratification of their personal ambitions seemed to them dependent upon Southern favor, were for treating the question as settled. This latter class contained some of the best and wisest of the Whig statesmen of Massachusetts, who dreaded and deprecated the formation upon this issue of a sectional party, and who thought the best means of resisting the further aggression of slavery was to retain their political association with the Whigs of the South. Conspicuous among these were Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Edward Everett, Governor Lincoln and Mr. Abbott Lawrence, to neither of whom will any man, whatever may have been the judgment of contemporary passion, now impute any lack of patriotism or want of sincerity in his resistance to the annexation of Texas. The two divisions of the Whig party in Massachusetts were called by names suggested by Mr. E. R. Hoar in a speech in the Massachusetts Senate: "Conscience Whigs" and "Cotton Whigs." Judge Allen threw himself into the contest with all his might, and was, from that time until he took his seat upon the bench in 1858, deemed by a large portion of the men who were of his way of thinking their wisest, bravest and ablest leader.

Mr. Webster was, for a time, expected to unite with the Conscience Whigs. He had either originally suggested, or at any rate earnestly united in the call for a convention of the people of Massachusetts, to be held in Faneuil Hall on the 29th of January, 1845, to express her unconquerable repugnance to the admission of Texas. He seemed to be inspired with a purpose to resist to the end, with all his might, the annexation of Texas, which he regarded as a violation of the Constitution and as designed to secure the perpetual supremacy of the slaveholding interest in this country. He undertook to prepare for the convention an address to the people of Massachusetts. He met

Charles Allen and Stephen C. Phillips at his office, I think, on Sunday, the 26th day of January. I have heard Judge Allen himself relate the story, but I will not be absolutely certain as to the day. He walked backward and forward in his office dictating to them the portion of the pamphlet containing the constitutional argument which terminates at paragraph second on the tenth page. "It affirms to you," to quote Mr. Webster's own language, "that there is no constitutional power in any branch of the government, or in all the branches of the government, to annex a foreign state to this Union." It will require no external testimony to convince any man who reads them that these pages are the work of Mr. Webster. Judge Allen and Mr. Phillips alternately used the pen, while Mr. Webster dictated. When this branch of the argument was completed Mr. Webster looked at his watch, said it was time to go to dinner, and made an appointment for them to continue their work at the same place at a fixed hour the next day. The next day Mr. Webster did not appear and nothing was heard of him. Mr. Allen and Mr. Phillips waited until late in the afternoon when they were informed, to their dismay, that Mr. Webster had taken a train for New York,—the train then left Boston at half-past five in the afternoon, connecting with the Norwich boat. Judge Allen was compelled to finish the address himself, to have it ready for the convention on Wednesday. The part composed by him begins at the place above indicated on page ten, and constitutes the rest of the pamphlet. It is praise enough, but not too much, to say of the work of Judge Allen that it is entirely worthy of its companionship, and that a casual reader, not informed of the history of the production, would not be likely to discover that the address was not the work of a single hand.

It is said that on that Monday a large pecuniary contribution for Mr. Webster was raised among the business men of Boston. Judge Allen believed that the indication

of the strength of the sentiment among this class of persons of unwillingness that there should be further agitation of the Texas question and further disturbance of harmonious relations between the North and the South caused this sudden change of purpose in the mind of Mr. Webster.

I do not for a moment mean to imply that Mr. Webster could be corrupted by money. I am satisfied, from a most careful and conscientious study, extending over many years, of his great career, that he was actuated by the loftiest patriotism in the action in his last years which, in common with so many of his countrymen, I disapproved at the time and disapprove now.

I do not know what caused his sudden change of purpose in those two days. But I conjecture that there came to his knowledge in the interval the fact that so many of his life-long friends and supporters among the business men of Boston were against further resistance to the annexation of Texas, and he concluded that resistance was hopeless and that it was not worth while to butt his head against a wall, by mere ineffective and barren remonstrance.

It would have been vastly better if Mr. Webster had absolutely refused such pecuniary contributions while he was in public life. His callousness upon that subject, as was his indifference to debt, and his profuseness of personal expenditure, was a blot on his otherwise illustrious character. But we may say this and at the same time acquit him of the supreme and unpardonable infamy of corruption. Mr. Webster's fame is among the great treasures of the Republic. Let him be judged by his whole career, and not alone by what may seem his errors of judgment in one supreme, anxious and dangerous time.

It is undoubtedly true that Mr. Webster, by his failure to attend the Anti-Texas Convention on the following Wednesday, or to express any further his sympathy with the sentiment which was so deeply felt by the anti-slavery people of Massachusetts, did much to weaken his hold on

their affection and confidence. When, at the Free Soil Convention at Worcester, in 1848, one of the resolutions called upon Daniel Webster, in the name of Massachusetts, to take the action in behalf of freedom in the territories "to which his great heart and mind should lead him," it was received by numerous shouts of "No, no," and its passage was secured with great difficulty. Mr. Allen's cordial relations with Mr. Webster were never renewed.

From the time of the consummation of the annexation of Texas it was apparent to all thoughtful men that it was the purpose of the slave power to occupy all that remained of the territory of the United States, together with what might be wrested from Mexico, and to wrest the Island of Cuba from Spain, and to bring all this territory into the Union of the States when the time should come. To apprise the people of the North of this purpose, to resist it and to defeat it, became thenceforth the paramount object of the political life of Charles Allen and of the men who sympathized with him. The Whig party of the North professed to be opposed to the extension of slavery. It was committed to that policy by the resolutions of its conventions, both state and local, in nearly all the Northern States. But many of its leaders were dependent on Southern favor for the gratification of their ambition in the future. Large numbers of Whigs, especially those engaged in manufactures and in mercantile pursuits, considered that the prosperity of the North in its business depended on maintaining undisturbed relations with the South. In addition to all this, there were large portions of the North, including southern Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, large portions of Pennsylvania and of New Jersey, where the Negro was held in little higher estimation than at the South, and where he was believed, to quote a phrase which afterward became a proverb, "to have no rights which the white man was bound to respect." The party spirit, too, led zealous Whig politicians to be unwilling to insist upon

a doctrine which must necessarily split the party in twain at Mason and Dixon's line. There were others who were conscientious in their disapprobation of slavery and who were unwilling that it should be extended, but who thought that Northern opposition only served to inflame Southern aggression, which, if the discussion of the question should be dismissed from politics for a time, would die out of itself. And to this number were added all the conservative, timid, quiet and amiable persons who disliked nothing so much as strife or agitation. Mr. Allen, however, found a good many associates and friends, many of whom afterward became distinguished in politics or letters. Each of them was a man who was competent to be the leader of a great cause.

The division in the Whig party, which began after the annexation of Texas, was widened by the differences growing out of the war with Mexico. This was disapproved by the Whigs of Massachusetts with scarcely an exception. But there was a very great difference in the degree and manner of their disapproval. Many of them were exceedingly unwilling to take a position in regard to that war, which was popular throughout the country, which would bring upon them the fate which attended the position of the Federalists of 1812.

The measure providing supplies for the army in Mexico which had passed Congress had the preamble: "Whereas war exists by the act of Mexico." Against this preamble fourteen Whigs voted. But others, including Mr. Winthrop of Massachusetts, voted for the preamble, in order not to be put in the attitude of objecting to the supplies. For this they were bitterly denounced, and the division between them and the Conscience Whigs was intensified. Dr. Palfrey, the Whig representative in Congress from the Middlesex District, refused, in the next Congress, to vote for Mr. Winthrop, the Whig candidate for Speaker; and a band of Conscience Whigs voted against Mr. Winthrop

when he was chosen Representative from the Boston District. They first nominated Charles Sumner as Mr. Winthrop's opponent. Mr. Sumner declined, and Dr. Samuel G. Howe was nominated in his place. Some of the Whigs, including Mr. Webster and Senator Roger S. Baldwin of Connecticut, resisted the treaty at the close of the Mexican War, foreseeing that the strife between Freedom and Slavery for the territory which it acquired from Mexico would lead to disruption of the Whig party and to a sectional strife throughout the country.

The question whether a great public evil should be corrected by the old English and American process of action by political parties, or by an action which should be not only independent of party obligations, but of the primal obligation of citizenship to obey the will of the country as expressed by its majority, until that majority could be persuaded to change, presented itself to the men who acted under the lead of Charles Allen and Charles Sumner. They rejected Mr. Garrison's solution of that question and accepted Mr. Allen's. The result is full of instruction.

Mr. Garrison and his followers declared the Constitution a "covenant with death and a league with hell," and the country an instrument of oppression, and refused to have any connection with either. Mr. Allen and Mr. Sumner, on the other hand, said: "We will use the powers of the Constitution to correct the mistakes of the Constitution. We will appeal to the people who made the Constitution, and to the Country which is behind the Constitution. Notwithstanding the present attitude of the majority, we will place the Country and the Constitution on the side of Freedom." What was the result? Garrison and Phillips attacked the Republican party as severely and as bitterly as they had attacked the slaveholders. In thirty years of agitation they had made no progress whatever. They began in 1830. The period from 1830 to 1850 witnessed a series of victories for slavery. In 1858 Wendell

Phillips describes England, whose conduct in 1834 in abolishing slavery in the West Indies had inspired him with so much enthusiasm, as having a pro-slavery government, and as ready to reëstablish the slave trade. He declares that we are about to admit Kansas as a slave State, to seize Cuba and what remains of Mexico; that the slave-master may travel through the North with his slave without setting him free. He denounces the judges and the churches alike as given over to the domination of slavery. He says that, when he dies, he hopes some one will give him a piece of marble large enough to write on it—"Infidel" at the top and "Traitor" at the bottom.

Now, what was done by the politician? Some of us met at Worcester, Massachusetts, on the 28th of June, 1848, to found a new party, devoted to arresting the future encroachments of the slave power, and to secure the freedom of the vast territory between the Mississippi and the Pacific. At Buffalo, in the same year, that party nominated its candidate for President. In that year it did not command a single vote in the electoral colleges and chose but three members of Congress. But it increased rapidly in numbers and political power. In eight years it carried a majority of the free states. In twelve years it elected its President and had a majority in both Houses of Congress. In sixteen years it had abolished slavery and had put down the Rebellion; and in twenty years it had adopted the three great amendments to the Constitution which made every slave a freeman, every freeman a citizen, and every citizen a voter.

The life of John Quincy Adams was drawing to a close. No man questioned the sincerity of Mr. Adams's hatred of the slave power. He hated slavery for its own sake, and there was no man more certain to return the hatred which the slave power felt toward him. But he earnestly desired the extension of our territory to the Pacific, and was quite willing to take the risks of conflict between freedom and

slavery for its possession. With the exception of Mr. Adams, the anti-slavery men among the Whig leaders were opposed to the acquisition of territory from Mexico. And some others, who were ready for any compromise, deprecated the new acquisition as one to be fruitful of a strife which would endanger the national existence itself. But all opposition was without avail. The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was agreed upon by the representatives of the two governments and ratified by the Senate of the United States. Under it we acquired a vast territory of nearly 50,000 square miles. From this time the division in the Whig party became irreconcilable. The Conscience Whigs attended the conventions of their party, secured the adoption of resolutions, both in those conventions and by the Legislature, committing the party to legislation to prevent the extension of slavery into the territories, and found organs among the Whig press. The party was not broken until the nomination of Gen. Taylor in 1848. Though very much dissatisfied with Mr. Webster, probably the bulk of those who left the Whig party would have supported him if he had been the Whig candidate for the presidency. But the choice of Gen. Taylor, a Southerner and a large slaveholder, whose fame rested wholly on his achievements in a war undertaken for the extension of slavery, without any pledge or assurance of his own opposition to it, and, after letters written by him assured the South that it could depend upon him, made further support of the Whig party impossible to these men. The convention was called at Worcester on the 28th of June, 1848, where, for the first time, was inaugurated a party for the sole object of resisting the extension of slavery. The Liberty party, which had cast a few votes in the presidential election of 1840, and which, in 1844, had turned the scale in New York, and so in the nation, against Mr. Clay, was willing to support the candidates of other parties who were personally unexceptionable to them in this respect. But the

Free Soil party, of which the present Republican party is but the continuation under a change of name, determined that no person could receive its support for any national office who, himself, continued his association with either of the old political organizations.

Charles Allen was chosen a delegate from the Worcester District to the Whig National Convention which met at Philadelphia, June 7th, 1848. It became manifest, as the time for holding that convention approached, that it was the plan of a large portion of the Whig party to make no declaration of a purpose to oppose the extension of slavery into the territories, and to nominate a candidate who should be uncommitted upon that subject, and who might be represented to the South as holding one opinion and to the North as holding another. While Mr. Webster's course had not been wholly satisfactory to the opponents of the extension of slavery, and while he had seemed to lack zeal in resisting the final consummation of the annexation of Texas, yet his opposition to the extension of slavery had been many times earnestly and emphatically expressed. He would, doubtless, have received the united support of the Whig party at the North if he had been nominated. The Southern Whigs found their candidate in Zachary Taylor. His simple, manly and picturesque character had gained a strong hold on the popular heart. There were many Whigs, even in Massachusetts, who were uneasy under the somewhat dictatorial and imperious manner of Mr. Webster, and who did not expect to find much opportunity for the gratification of their own ambitions under an administration where he should control. Above all, it was supposed that the popular enthusiasm for a successful soldier would be as powerful in the case of Taylor as it had been in the case of Andrew Jackson. Mr. Webster, whatever may have been the respect in which he was held by the great mass of the people, seems never to have been popular with the class of men who are

found in nominating conventions. The result was that Gen. Taylor received the nomination of the convention on the fourth ballot by a majority of more than sixty. A resolution was then introduced declaring that Congress had the power, and that it was its duty, to prevent the introduction and existence of slavery in any territory then possessed, or which might thereafter be acquired. This resolution was laid on the table amid a storm of derision. It was, however, hoped to conciliate Massachusetts by the nomination of Abbott Lawrence, who had been an earnest supporter of Gen. Taylor, and was understood to be on unfriendly terms with Mr. Webster, for the Vice-Presidency. A gentleman then rose, of slender figure and voice, who was unknown to the great majority of the convention, and who, till that time, had taken little part in its proceedings. It was Charles Allen of Massachusetts. He declared that the discipline of the South had again prevailed; that the terms of union between the Whigs of the North and the Whigs of the South were the perpetual surrender by the former of the high places and powers of the Government to their Southern Confederates. "To these terms the Free States will no longer submit. The Whig party is here and this day dissolved. You have put one ounce too much on the strong back of Northern endurance. You have even presumed that the State which led in the first revolution for liberty will now desert that cause for the miserable boon of the Vice-Presidency. Sir, Massachusetts spurns the bribe." Mr. Allen's speech was received with a storm of indignation and derision. The Whig party, which had just nominated a successful general and which looked forward to an assured victory in the coming campaign, never appeared, to an unthinking observer, so conscious of its strength and so certain of a long lease of power as at that moment. It was about to elect its candidate for the Presidency at the slight price of silence on the great question of human liberty. Mr.

Allen's utterance seemed, to most men, like the raving of a fanatic. But in the next presidential election the Whig party, this great historic party, found itself able to command a majority in but four states. Four years from the time of Mr. Allen's utterance, Daniel Webster, as he lay dying at Marshfield, said to the friend who was making his will, "The Whig candidate will obtain but one or two states; and it is well; as a national party the Whigs are ended."

Mr. Allen came back to Massachusetts to appeal to the people of Worcester, and to lay in this city the foundation of the great party which came into power in 1861, and whose thirty years of power constitute the most brilliant and important period in all legislative history. The number of voters to whom he could appeal for support with confidence was not very large in the beginning. But there were men in all parts of the Commonwealth with whom he had been in the habit of taking counsel since the division in the Whig party had grown up, and who came promptly to his side. The Free Soil party of Massachusetts cast, in the presidential election of 1848, about thirty-seven thousand votes. But it included among its supporters almost every man in the Commonwealth old enough to take part in politics who has since acquired any considerable national reputation. Charles Sumner, who had become known to the public as an orator and scholar by three or four brilliant orations, was just at the threshold of his great career. Charles Francis Adams, who had served with distinction in each branch of the State Legislature, brought to the cause his inflexible courage, his calm judgment, and the inspiration of his historic name. John A. Andrew, then a young lawyer in Boston, afterward to become illustrious as the greatest war governor in the Union, devoted to the cause an eloquence stimulant and inspiring as a sermon of Paul. John G. Palfrey, then a Whig member of Congress from the

Middlesex District, discussed the great issue in speeches singularly adapted to reach the understanding and gratify the taste of the people of Massachusetts, and in a series of essays whose vigor and compactness Junius might have envied, and with a moral power which Junius could never have reached. Anson Burlingame, afterward minister to China and envoy from China to the civilized nations of the world, then in early youth, inspired his hearers with his lofty trumpet-call. Samuel G. Howe, famous in both hemispheres by his knightly service in the cause of Greek independence, famous also by his philanthropic work in behalf of the insane and the blind, brought his great influence to the new party. Henry Wilson, a mechanic, whose early training had been that of the shoemaker's shop, but who understood the path by which to reach the conscience and understanding of the workingmen of Massachusetts better than any other man, had been also a delegate to the convention at Philadelphia, and had united with Judge Allen in denunciation of its surrender of liberty. Stephen C. Phillips, a highly respected merchant of Salem, and formerly a Whig representative from the Essex District, gave the weight of his influence in the same direction. Samuel Hoar, who had been driven from South Carolina when he attempted to argue the case for the imprisoned colored seamen of Massachusetts before the courts of the United States, one of the most distinguished lawyers of the Massachusetts Bar, whom Chief-Justice Shaw declared, at a gathering of the Essex Bar, the most powerful advocate before juries in Massachusetts, came from his retirement in his old age to give his service in the same cause. He headed the call for the first Free Soil convention, held at Worcester on the 28th of June, which was prepared by his son, E. R. Hoar, afterward Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts and Attorney-General of the United States, and member of the Joint High Commission which framed the Treaty

of Washington. Richard H. Dana, master of an exquisite English style, an advocate who used to encounter Rufus Choate on equal terms, threw himself into the cause with all the ardor of his soul. On the Connecticut River, George Ashmun, the most powerful of the Whig champions in Western Massachusetts, found more than his match in Erastus Hopkins.

William Claflin, afterward Speaker, Lieutenant-Governor and Governor in Massachusetts, member of the National House of Representatives, and chairman of the Republican National Committee, was then in early youth. But he had already gained a competent fortune by his business sagacity. He brought to the cause his sound judgment, his warm and affectionate heart and his liberal hand. He was then, as he has ever since been, identified with every good and generous cause. His staunch friendship was then, as it has ever since been, the delight and comfort of the champions of Freedom in strife and obloquy.

Each of these men would have been amply fitted in all respects for the leader of a great party in state or nation. Each of them could have defended any cause in which he was a believer, by whatever champion assailed. They had also their allies and associates among the representatives of the press. Among these were Joseph T. Buckingham of the *Boston Courier*, then the head of the editorial fraternity in Massachusetts; John Milton Earle, the veteran editor of the *Worcester Spy*; William S. Robinson, afterward so widely known as "Warrington," whose wit and keen logic will cause his name to be long preserved among the classics of American literature.

Besides these more conspicuous leaders, there was to be found in almost every town and village in Massachusetts some man eminent among his neighbors for purity of life, for philanthropy and for large intelligence, who was ready to join the new party. The glowing hopes and dreams

and aspirations of youth were inspirited by the muse of Whittier and Longfellow and Lowell and Bryant. The cause of free labor appealed to the strongest sympathies of the mechanics of Essex and the skilled laborers of Worcester :—

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive;
But to be young was Heaven.

A meeting was called to hear Judge Allen's report at the City Hall in Worcester. There was doubt as to his reception, and it was predicted that he could not gain an audience. Some difficulty was experienced in finding any man of prominence to preside; but this office was undertaken by Albert Tolman, one of the most respected mechanics of the city. The hall was thronged long before Judge Allen came upon the platform. Many persons were unable to get admission. From the beginning to the end Judge Allen had the sympathy of the vast audience. The Judge declared that he had been charged by his constituents to vote for a person as candidate for President who should be in favor of preserving the territories of the United States from the stain of slavery. That the convention which sent him to Philadelphia well knew his sentiments, and would have sent some other man as their delegate if they intended to put forth principles upon which they did not mean to stand and abide. He sketched the history of slavery in the country; the manner in which it had extended and grown strong. He showed that the Whigs of the North were pledged against its further extension. He showed that Gen. Taylor had declared that if he were elected to the presidential office he must go untrammelled by party pledges of any character, and must not be brought forward as the candidate of any party, or considered as the exponent of any party doctrines. Gen. Taylor, therefore, refusing to be the candidate of a party or the exponent of its doctrines, had no claim upon his allegiance or that of his auditors as Whigs.

He showed further that Gen. Taylor's Southern neighbors, who knew him best, avowed that he sympathized with them on the subject of the Wilmot Proviso and what they called Southern rights. He uttered his bold challenge to the leading Whigs in Worcester County,—Gov. Lincoln and Gov. Davis. As the assembly was about to disperse, the Rev. George Allen, a brother of the Judge, who had come in late from a religious meeting, made his way to the platform and moved the following resolution, which was passed amid great enthusiasm. It was adopted by nearly every Free Soil meeting held that year in Massachusetts and rang through the country:—"Resolved, that Massachusetts wears no chains, and spurns all bribes. That she goes now and will ever go for Free Soil and Free Men, for Free Lips and a Free Press, for a Free Land and a Free World." That meeting was the inauguration of a political party which made opposition to the further extension of slavery its cardinal principle. The old Liberty party differed from the Free Soil party in that its members were willing to support men belonging to other political organizations if they had confidence in the sincerity of the devotion of the individual candidate to their principles. But the Free Soil party announced, and in no other way could any party expect permanent success in state or nation, that alliance with any other political organization, or the support of any other political candidates than their own, was sufficient reason for rejecting any candidate for office, however personally acceptable. The transformation of the Free Soil party into the Republican, which took place six years later, was but a change of name.

Mr. Allen devoted himself from that time forward to the close of the campaign to the task of convincing the people of Worcester County. It was no slight burden he had undertaken. Worcester County had contended with Genesee County, N. Y., Lancaster County, Pa., and

Ashtabula County, Ohio, for the glory of being the banner Whig county in the United States. She was interested in the success of Whig principles. Her manufactures were rising into importance. Factories were building on every stream. Her only city was devoted to manufactures in great variety. Her people were proud of the policies which had given to Massachusetts the name of the model commonwealth. With the exception of Mr. Webster, her venerated citizens, John Davis and Levi Lincoln, were the most eminent Whigs in Massachusetts.

Gov. Davis had a large national fame and was understood to have favored the selection of Gen. Taylor. At the same time, his course hitherto had commended him to the anti-slavery sentiment of the Commonwealth. Levi Lincoln, who held the office of Governor of Massachusetts longer than any other person before or since, was a man of matchless executive energy, of high social position, of wide family connection, and of unsullied character. He had been chosen Governor of Massachusetts by the consent of both political parties. He had inherited from his father the political opinions and the intimate personal friendship of Jefferson. Yet he had always had the full confidence of the Federal and Whig leaders. When Mr. Webster was first chosen to the United States Senate he declined to be considered as a candidate until he had been first informed, on Mr. Lincoln's own authority, that he would not accept the place; an acceptance which had been urged upon him by Mr. Mills, the retiring senator, and by the leaders of the dominant party in Massachusetts all over the Commonwealth, with scarcely an exception. These two men threw themselves into the support of Taylor, inspired not only by the conviction that Gen. Taylor's election would be for the benefit of the whole country, but also because they saw that their own political dominion and influence were involved in the same issue.

These men had supporters both on the hustings and in the press, from a conflict with whom any common man might well shrink. The *National Ægis* was then under the charge of Alexander H. Bullock, afterward Governor of the Commonwealth, and one of the most brilliant orators of his day. He was aided by the keen and caustic pen of Edward W. Lincoln, and by John C. B. Davis, afterward an eminent lawyer and Minister to Germany. Benjamin F. Thomas, who succeeded Judge Allen as the leader of the Worcester bar, the darling of the younger men of his generation,—a man of whom it has been said, as before him was said of Charles James Fox, that his intellect was all feeling and his feeling all intellect,—who had been an original supporter of Gen. Taylor, advocated his election with his fervid and persuasive eloquence. Emory Washburn, perhaps the best-beloved citizen of Worcester County, was on the same side. The quarrel was not like that of an ordinary party contest. It extended into the social life of the state and county. There was hardly a family moving in what was called good society that was not upon the Whig side. Charles Hudson, the popular and esteemed representative from the Worcester District, the highest authority in his time upon the finances of the country, and especially upon the protective tariff, after some hesitation, had given his support to the nomination of Gen. Taylor.

Yet Charles Allen, from the beginning, held his own against all odds. He was nominated for Congress very much against his own will, and because no other man could be found in the district on his side of sufficient prominence to be made a candidate. The Free Soil party swept the county by a large majority, carrying the City of Worcester and every one of the fifty-two towns, with four exceptions. The Judge was triumphantly elected to Congress. From that time Worcester County never wavered or faltered in the support of freedom, till the three great

amendments were formally established in the Constitution of the United States itself.

Judge Allen served in the Congress of the United States for two terms, when his constituents reluctantly yielded to his desire to withdraw from that service. His health was always delicate. The climate of Washington was extremely unfavorable to him. During his term of service he had many slight illnesses. He also was brought to the point of death by a lung fever. The physicians had no hope that he would live but a few hours, and requested Mr. Giddings, who was his intimate friend, to say to him that if he had any disposition to make of his worldly affairs it should be done without delay, as he had but a very short time to live. The Judge understood his own case better than the doctors. As Giddings leaned over the sick-bed and made the solemn and appalling communication, the patient replied, using all his strength, in a just audible whisper, "We will see about that." To the mortification, if not the disappointment, of the doctors, he recovered.

The question has been discussed a good deal of late, to what men the rescue of our vast Western territory from slavery and the overthrow of slavery itself are most largely due. The admirers of Mr. Garrison and the survivors of the little band who were distinguished by the name of Abolitionists, of whom he was the acknowledged leader, claim for him and for those who thought with him the chief merit in this mighty revolution. I would not, if I could, take a single laurel from the honored brow of William Lloyd Garrison. I stated deliberately my opinion of him when, in presenting for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts the statues of John Winthrop and Samuel Adams to the United States, for the memorial chamber in the Capitol, I spoke of the great men among whom her choice was made in selecting the two foremost names

among her national benefactors. I then used this language:—

“Of the great lovers of their race, whose pure fame is gained by unselfish devotion of their lives to lessening suffering or reforming vice, Massachusetts has furnished conspicuous examples. Among these great benefactors who have now gone to their reward it is hard to determine the palm of excellence.

“To the labors of Horace Mann is due the excellence of the common schools in America, without which liberty must perish, despite of constitution or statute.

“If an archangel should come down from Heaven among men, I cannot conceive that he could give utterance to a loftier virtue or clothe his message in more fitting phrase than are found in the pure eloquence in which Channing arraigned slavery, that giant crime of all ages, before the bar of public opinion, and held up the selfish ambition of Napoleon to the condemnation of mankind. ‘Never before,’ says the eulogist of Channing, ‘in the name of humanity and freedom, was grand offender arraigned by such a voice. The sentence of degradation which Channing has passed, confirmed by coming generations, will darken the fame of the warrior more than any defeat of his armies, or compelled abdication of his power.’

“Dr. Howe, whose youthful service in the War for the Independence of Greece, recalling the stories of knight-errantry, has endeared his name to two hemispheres, is yet better known by what he has done for those unfortunate classes of our fellowmen whom God has deprived of intellect or of sense. He gave eyes to the fingers of the blind; he taught the deaf and dumb articulate speech; waked the slumbering intellect in the darkened soul of the idiot; brought comfort, quiet, hope, courage, to the wretched cell of the insane.

“To each of these the people of Massachusetts have, in their own way, paid their tribute of honor and reverence. The statue of Horace Mann stands by the portal of the State House. The muse of Whittier and Holmes, the lips of our most distinguished living orators, the genius of his gifted wife, have united in a worthy memorial of Howe. The stately eloquence of Sumner, in his great oration at Cambridge, has built a monument to Channing more enduring than marble or granite; but Channing’s

published writings, eagerly read wherever the English language prevailed, are better than any monument.

“Yet I believe Channing and Howe and Mann, were they living today, would themselves yield precedence to the constant and courageous heroism of him who said, ‘I am in earnest; I will not equivocate; I will not retreat a single inch; and I will be heard’; whose fame—

‘Over his living head, like heaven, is bent
An early and eternal monument.’”

Of this estimate I have nothing to retract. But I cannot consent to honor Mr. Garrison at the expense of what is due to others. Mr. Garrison devoted his life to the cause of human freedom. In that cause he encountered hatred, obloquy and peril. He espoused the cause of the poor and downtrodden when it seemed almost hopeless to other men, inspired by a sublime and undoubting confidence in righteousness and the justice of God. He was a man of absolute integrity and veracity. His appeals did much to create and strengthen the hatred of slavery in the American people, to whom he was as a conscience, bringing everything to the standard of rectitude as it appeared to his eyes. But as we now look back upon his work we can see that he impaired his own usefulness by one supreme error in judgment. His only plan for the overthrow of slavery was the destruction of his country itself. If his counsel had been followed there would have been today at the South a great slaveholding empire, spreading over all the territory between the Mississippi and the Pacific, embracing Cuba and, perhaps, Mexico; while the North would have been a feeble and distracted country; or, perhaps, divided into many separate states, weak and contemptible among the nations of the earth. We cannot, therefore, while we assign to Garrison the highest place which belongs to a pure purpose and to an unselfish devotion, give to him, who as a counsellor and leader was always wrong in the method of accomplishing

his end, a meed of praise which we are to deny such leaders as Charles Allen and Charles Sumner, who, as we look back upon their lives, we now see to have been always right. Mr. Garrison was misled by a strict interpretation of the Constitution. He forgot that there was a country behind the Constitution which could amend it, which could overthrow it, which could construe it in favor of liberty, and the preservation of whose life was, if not the only, yet the best hope of liberty in this world. No lover of his race, no friend of the freedom of the black, can now look back upon the counsel of Charles Allen or the men who acted with him and wish that in any respect it had been otherwise.

The causes which have been mentioned prevented Mr. Allen from taking a very active part on the floor of the House during his two terms of service in Washington. But he was regarded by the few anti-slavery men there as their wisest and ablest counsellor. Mr. Julian of Indiana, who was himself one of the most earnest anti-slavery men in the public service, and who served with Mr. Allen during his whole time, has written his recollection of Mr. Allen's congressional career as follows :—

CENTREVILLE, INDIANA,

Sept. 10th, 1870.

HON. GEO. F. HOAR :

My Dear Sir,—

Failing health and other hindrances have prevented an earlier response to your request, made some months ago, to give you my impressions of the late Judge Allen of your state. My first knowledge of him dates back as far as the summer of 1848, when I read his speech to his constituents, on his return from the Philadelphia Whig Convention which nominated Gen. Taylor for the Presidency in June of that year. This speech, which was copied into several Western newspapers, was a telling one, and exercised a marked influence, especially upon those members of the Free Soil organization who enlisted from the ranks of the Whigs. I first met Judge Allen in

December, 1849, as a fellow-member of the House of Representatives in the memorable Congress which then assembled, and as a fellow-member also of the little party of less than a dozen men who disowned all allegiance to both the Whig and Democratic parties. Boarding at the same place with Judge Allen and a few other congenial friends during nearly the whole of the two sessions of this Congress, which together lasted over thirteen months, I had, of course, the amplest means of knowing him intimately. In his ordinary intercourse with others, and as a member of the House also, he was so quiet and undemonstrative that few comprehended his rare intellectual gifts, or the singular charm of his manner as he revealed himself to his intimate friends. I may add, too, that even at this comparatively early day in his career he labored under the serious disadvantage of feeble health. The slave power also, then in the full sweep of its despotism, took good care, of course, to keep such men in the background. Even Thaddeus Stevens, who in later years became so famous as a debater and party leader, and had offended the black oligarchy so much less than Judge Allen, was not able in this Congress to write down any clear prophecy of the career which awaited him when perfectly unshackled by the power which then held him in check. The men who resisted the organization of the House in the interest of slavery for weeks in succession, and thus offended both slaveholders and doughfaces, could expect no coveted place on the committees and no political favors in any quarter. Judge Allen, however, whenever his health would permit, was at his post of duty, ever watchful of the proceedings of Congress, and conscientiously resolved to act well his part as a servant of the people. On a few occasions, of which his encounter with Mr. Ashmun is an example, his reserved power was strikingly brought out, and the House listened to him with admiration and breathless interest. Judge Allen was passionately fond of English literature. On entering his room I always found on his table "Half Hours with the Best Authors" or some favorite volume of poetry; and I used to listen to his readings with delight. He was master of the rare art of good reading, knowing exactly how to give to the hearer the full force and compass of his author's meaning. He was uncommonly familiar with theological and religious literature, and his conversation on these

topics was full of instruction. In his occasional discussions of political issues with those who differed from him, it was impossible to escape the real point in dispute. He never failed to bring his opponent promptly back to it, and pin him there if he sought to escape; and when he detected in him any form of sophistry or dishonesty was sure to make him disagreeably sensible of it. There was a vein of sarcasm about him which I have never seen excelled. It was keen and terrible; but he uniformly reserved it for fit occasions and for subjects that deserved it. His love of justice and truth was supreme, but his heart was as sunny and kind as that of a child.

The political and social ostracism of the little party of radicals with whom he was associated in Washington was keenly felt, and led to weekly social meetings at the residence of Dr. Bailey, of the *National Era*, where we frequently met leading anti-slavery people from various sections. These were most delightful occasions, showing the delightful social tendencies of the members, and indicating the struggle it must have cost them to break away from cherished associations and stand alone in defence of hated political doctrines. If left to his natural inclinations, I think Judge Allen would never have filled a public office; and I am quite sure he would have shunned the hard and ungracious strife of party politics. He was, in the very best sense, a patriot; and, therefore, while singularly fitted to enjoy the sweet quiet of home, and to charm in the social circle and around the fireside, he listened only to the voice of duty when summoned to the public service.

I infer from his frequent conversations about Mr. Webster, that his personal and political relations with him had been the kindest. Up to the last moment, I think, he clung to the hope that Webster would not go over to the South; and it was a real grief to him when he found himself finally disappointed. On the memorable 7th of March, Judge Allen was not able to be in the House. I happened that day to be in the Senate and heard the whole of the recreant speech which recorded Mr. Webster's apostasy from his New England faith. On returning from the session, I related to Judge Allen what had happened, giving him the chief points of the speech and attempting to describe the effort, almost amounting to an agony, which it seemed to cost Mr. Webster to deliver it. I shall never forget the inexpressible

sadness of Judge Allen's face as I gave him these particulars. The fatal step had now been taken and thenceforward he must, of course, regard Webster as the enemy of his country, because the enemy of liberty. The pang caused by this event, affecting as it must his social relations with Mr. Webster, was patiently endured, in the desire to stand all the more firmly by the cause of freedom, now dearer than ever because more than ever imperilled by the faithlessness of its friends.

Of the controversy which followed between Judge Allen and Mr. Webster it is, perhaps, needless to speak. I believed at the time, as I still do, that Judge Allen was right in the charges made by him against Mr. Webster, in March, 1851; and I was willing, therefore, to offer in the House a preamble and resolutions calling for an investigation. The House, then in the complete control of men who had surrendered the country to the keeping of the slave power, very naturally voted down the proposed inquiry. It was never officially made; but Judge Allen's good name suffered no detriment in the judgment of his countrymen by reason of his charges. On the contrary, I think it safe to say that the general verdict has been in his favor. Time has awarded justice to both parties, and this is all that the friends of Judge Allen could ask. Should the friends of Mr. Webster, however, see fit at any time to drag this controversy again before the public, and insist upon a rehearing, I doubt not that facts in abundance can be produced in justification of the investigation which was proposed.

As to Judge Allen's course, in connection with the other Free Soil members of the House, in resisting its organization under Mr. Winthrop, time has fully vindicated him and his co-laborers. They were ready at all times to vote for Thaddeus Stevens, as for any other Whig for Speaker who could be trusted; but they knew Mr. Winthrop to be false to freedom, and, therefore, they did right in resolutely refusing to vote for him. Many good men then thought they were mistaken; but the subsequent action of Mr. Winthrop himself has removed all doubts as to the wisdom of their course. Nor does Judge Allen's conduct need any vindication in separating himself from the Whig party, in 1848, and joining the anti-slavery revolt of that year. That movement did not carry the electoral vote of a single state; but its moral effect saved Oregon from slavery, made California a free state,

secured cheap postage to the people, and launched the policy of free homes on the public domain which finally prevailed in 1862. Nor can history fail to record that the Free Soil movement was the prophecy and parent of the larger one which rallied under Frémont in 1856, under Lincoln in 1860, and which finally saved the nation from destruction by the armed rebels whom it had vanquished at the ballot-box. The leaders in this grand uprising of 1848 are, therefore, not unworthy of their country's honor and praise; and of all these leaders, whether in New England or out of it, I rank Charles Allen second to none in ability, courage, singleness of purpose, and the power to inspire and wisely guide his fellow-men. In the grasp and poise of his mind I believe no man in New England, save Webster, was his superior, in the judgment of those who knew him best; while the purity of his life and the loftiness of his patriotism are unquestioned and unquestionable. Such are my views and impressions, drawn from a brief but intimate acquaintance, which closed nearly twenty years ago; and it affords me a real pleasure to record them in compliance with your wishes.

I am, very truly yours,

GEO. W. JULIAN.

After the defeat of Gen. Scott, it was proposed by the leaders of the Free Soil party in Washington, at a meeting held at the house of Dr. Bailey, editor of the *National Era*, to abandon their distinctive organization, and either unite again with the Whigs or abandon political effort altogether. Ephraim seemed given over to his idols. The Democratic party was triumphant everywhere. Their Whig competitors had declared their acquiescence in the compromise measures of 1850. Slavery was intrenched in House, Senate, the Presidency, the Supreme Court, in trade, commerce, at the Bar, and in the highest social circles of all the great cities. It seemed to many men that its enemies were but beating their heads against walls. Such was the feeling of the little band of discouraged champions who gathered at Dr. Bailey's the winter after the election of Franklin Pierce to discuss their future prospects. Mr. Allen, however, was not one of the dis-

couraged. He maintained that it would be impossible for the slave power to remain stationary; that some new encroachment would occur before long which would excite the North and inspire new confidence in the opponents of slavery. It is said that he advocated these views in a speech of great power, and succeeded in impressing the meeting with his own good cheer. His prophecy was verified early in the following administration, by Mr. Douglas's proposition to repeal the Missouri Compromise, followed soon after by the struggle between the settlers from the free and slave states for the possession of Kansas, and by the Dred Scott decision.

During Mr. Allen's term of service the Compromise measures of 1850 were discussed and enacted. Mr. Allen came home from Washington in the autumn of that year, and addressed his constituents in two speeches of marvellous power. In 1848 he had prayed "That God might keep Daniel Webster from the toils of the slave power, and that we might be spared from the sight of that strong man grinding in the prison-house of the Philistines." After Mr. Webster's 7th of March speech, Mr. Allen's last hope of support from Mr. Webster was abandoned. He denounced his old leader and friend in language which justice to him and to those who thought with him requires us to preserve, as showing the temper of the times and the boldness with which the most powerful character was assailed by Judge Allen in the defence of what he believed the cause of righteousness and constitutional liberty:—

"Mr. Webster, I know, says that the opinion of no man who denies the constitutionality of this measure [the Fugitive Slave Law] is of any worth. In the usual arrogant style in which he sees fit of late to address the public, he declares that the opinion, which has been expressed by intelligent men, by lawyers and jurists, and by able minds in every department of life, that the law is against the spirit, if not the letter, of the Constitution, is not worthy of consideration. He assumes to dictate to the people the

true construction of the Constitution, in a matter deeply affecting them; and he declares that the hundreds and thousands of voices, already raised in all parts of the country to denounce this measure for its unconstitutionality, are to be disregarded or treated with contempt.

"My friends, I know well the great intelligence of that distinguished man, Daniel Webster. I know very well the power of his mighty intellect, how it stands out in monstrous disproportion to every other attribute of the man. I bow in silent wonder before the mysterious dispensation of Providence which saw fit to confer so much intellectual power where there was so little moral strength. My friends, Mr. Webster never will vindicate the principles of the Free Soil party. Never! Never! The Free Soil party has no pensions to bestow upon him. Freedom has no chain of gold to bind the giant to her service. She seeks for no such service. But she asks the aid and assistance of honest minds and earnest hearts,—of men who cannot be bought by gold, and who will not be beguiled of their rights by gold-bought sophistry. My friends, what is knowledge, what is wisdom, without goodness as a guide in the affairs of life? And what but a demon would the greatest intellect which the Deity ever created be if it stood independent of goodness? The world has had examples of men in all ages who were gifted with great powers of intellect, and who yet would fall before temptations which the feeblest of mankind often resist. The instances, as you know, have not been few, but many,—so many that, I trust, the people have long since learned to disregard the dictation of mere intellect where there are no qualities of the heart also upon which they can rely.

"I call to mind at this moment one of the most distinguished men the world ever knew. It will be no disparagement to say that he possessed an intellect superior even to that of Mr. Webster himself. Certainly his attainments in every department of knowledge were far superior. And yet he sank before temptations which the weakest resist, and was dismissed from the highest place of state in disgrace and with contempt. That man, characterized as 'the wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind,' stands on the page of history as a warning to the world that intelligence

and virtue are not inseparably combined, and that you must see to it that the brilliant intellect to which you turn for guidance and direction, is itself controlled and directed by unwavering principle. My friends, I have a right thus to speak of Mr. Webster, and it is my duty to speak thus of him. It is the duty of every man, even of the feeblest, to exert what little strength he has to prevent the fountains of public sentiment from being poisoned by the statesman who has turned all the energy of his great mind in a direction hostile to the public interest. I have a right thus to speak of him from what we know and what we believe of the inducements and motives which gave a new direction to his whole political action. When we find him turning his back upon principles which he had advocated in the most solemn manner again and again, not in his youth merely, but in the maturity of his great mind, which he had early vindicated, which he had at all periods sustained; when we find him changing his position, arraying himself on the side of oppression, and seeking to delude the whole public into the same false position, we have a right to say that the man is not to be trusted as a guide to the people. Rather trust the feeblest intellect that sheds its glimmering though feeble light over the path of duty."

This arraignment of Mr. Webster cannot be omitted without omitting an important part of the political history of the time, and especially an important act in the career of Charles Allen. As we look back today, nearly forty years, upon these great events and these great actors, we can discover reasons for modifying the severe judgment which the lovers of liberty of his day rendered of the motives and conduct of Daniel Webster. We can see that he might well have been sincere in his belief that it would not be in the power of the South to fasten itself upon the unoccupied territory of the West, even without any national prohibition. Certainly California and Kansas, under most unfavorable circumstances, were rescued from the blight of slavery without any exertion of national authority. We can also see that the fear of a dissolution

of the Union, which so impressed the mind of Mr. Webster, was not the idle fancy which his opponents at that day were accustomed to believe it. We can see, too, that if the struggle had come between the North and the South in 1850, before the extension of our railroad system, before the great increase of wealth, and especially the increase of manufacturing power which came to the North in the ten years' interval, and before steam-power had come into use on vessels of war, that a war undertaken for the coercion or conquest of the South might have had a very different ending from that of the struggle which broke out in 1861. We can also well believe that if Daniel Webster's life had been spared he would have been found, as his follower and friend, Edward Everett, was found, among the most zealous defenders of his country, and that all his sympathies would have been given to the Union in a war in which, as it has been well said, every cannon on that side was shotted with his great reply to Hayne.

The men who condemned Daniel Webster, and the men who came to his side, had alike drunk deeply of the inspiration of his own teaching. He had taught the youth of New England, at Plymouth and at Bunker Hill, to reverence beyond all other human objects of esteem the men who had abandoned their country and the men who had taken up arms against their government that civil liberty might not perish. He had pledged them on the rock where their ancestors landed to co-operate with the laws of men and the justice of heaven to extirpate and destroy the slave trade. How came he to be advocating a Fugitive Slave Law, and helping to extend the area of slavery from the Mississippi to the Pacific? On the other hand, it was he that first taught America her own greatness; that had evoked the national spirit in the bosoms of his countrymen, and taught them that their best hope lay in the supremacy of the Constitution and the Union. Should they not listen when he warned them that the

Union was in danger, and demanded of them obedience to the plain behest of the Constitution as the price of its safety? One side appealed to the love of liberty; the other to the love of country. One side appealed to the voice of conscience in the soul; the other invoked the decisions of Congress and the supremacy of national law.

The judgment which the Free Soilers of 1850 formed of Daniel Webster and the judgment which his countrymen, even those who differed from him, have formed, after the passion and excitement of his time have died, are both expressed in a manner which no other man can equal, by John G. Whittier, that master of every chord in the hearts of his countrymen, in two matchless poems. In each of them he spake truly the sentiment of anti-slavery New England. "Ichabod" was its first voice of disappointment and sorrow:—

" So fallen! so lost! the light withdrawn
Which once he wore!
The glory from his gray hairs gone
Forevermore.

Reville him not—the Tempter hath
A snare for all;
And pitying tears, not scorn and wrath,
Befit his fall!

O, dumb be passion's stormy rage,
When he who might
Have lighted up and led his age,
Falls back in night.

Scorn! would the angels laugh, to mark
A bright soul driven,
Fiend-goaded, down the endless dark,
From Hope and Heaven!

Let not the land once proud of him
Insult him now,
Nor brand with deeper shame his dim,
Dishonored brow.

But let its humbled sons, instead,
From sea to lake,
A long lament, as for the dead,
In sadness make.

Of all we loved and honored, naught
Save power remains,—
A fallen angel's pride of thought,
Still strong in chains.

All else is gone, from those great eyes
The soul has fled:
When Faith is lost, when Honor dies,
The man is dead!

Then, pay the reverence of old days
To his dead fame;
Walk backward, with averted gaze,
And hide the shame!"

The "Lost Occasion" expressed its riper and its gentler judgment:—

"Too soon for us, too soon for thee,
Beside thy lonely Northern sea,
Where long and low the marsh-lands spread,
Laid wearily down thy august head.

Thou shouldst have lived to feel below
Thy feet Disunion's fierce upthrow,—
The late-sprung mine that underlaid
Thy sad concessions vainly made.

Thou shouldst have seen from Sumter's wall
The star-flag of the Union fall,
And armed Rebellion pressing on
The broken lines of Washington!

No stronger voice than thine had then
Called out the utmost might of men,
To make the Union's charter free
And strengthen law by liberty.

How had that stern arbitrament
To thy gray age youth's vigor lent,
Shaming ambition's paltry prize
Before thy disillusioned eyes;

Breaking the spell about thee wound
Like the green withes that Samson bound;
Redeeming, in one effort grand,
Thyself and thy imperilled land!

Ah, cruel fate, that closed to thee,
O sleeper by the Northern sea,
The gates of opportunity!
God fills the gaps of human need,
Each crisis brings its word and deed.

Wise men and strong we did not lack;
But still, with memory turning back,
In the dark hours we thought of thee,
And thy lone grave beside the sea."

But we must describe Charles Allen, and tell the story of his life as it was. We must do justice to the heroic courage which never quailed or flinched before the most powerful antagonist that either Massachusetts or America ever produced.

Judge Allen lived to see the triumph of the great cause which he had espoused in its infancy and weakness. He lived to see slavery abolished by the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution. He lived to enjoy the respect of the people of the Commonwealth, without distinction of party or opinion. The dauntless advocate of liberty, the wise, learned and inflexible judge and stainless citizen, received the only reward for which he cared,—the affection and honor of good men everywhere. His private life had been simple and frugal. He could say with John Milton, "I am not one who has disgraced beauty of sentiment by deformity of conduct, or the maxims of a freeman by the actions of a slave; but, by the grace of God, I have kept my life unsullied."

During his second term in Congress, a proposal was made to entrust the negotiation of a government loan for paying the expenses of the Mexican War, and the sum to be paid to Mexico as an equivalent for her cession of territory, to the Department of State, of which Mr. Webster

was then the head. Judge Allen earnestly resisted this proposition. He claimed that the well-known fact that Mr. Webster was enabled to defray his large household expenditure while he held office by contributions from business men, largely brokers and bankers, unfitted him for the discharge of the delicate duty of negotiating a loan with them; a transaction from which they might well expect to derive a considerable profit. But he found no support on either side of the House.

Mr. Allen left Congress, contrary to the earnest desires of his constituents, at the end of his second term, on the third of March, 1853. But he maintained his leadership in the politics of Worcester County, and his large influence in the state, until he went upon the bench in 1858. He was a member of the Convention to revise the Constitution in 1853, where he exerted a powerful influence. The new constitution proposed by that convention was rejected by the people; but the volumes containing its debates are full of interest. Some of Mr. Allen's speeches will be found there reported. In 1854 the Know Nothing party, as it was called, whose fundamental principle was the desire to exclude men of foreign birth from the right to vote in this country, came into power. It elected, in the autumn of 1854, the entire State Government of Massachusetts, including every member of the Senate, and every member of the House but two representatives from the town of Northampton, and the entire delegation in Congress. Many of Mr. Allen's most prominent associates, including Henry Wilson, yielded to the torrent, and either joined the new party, which held its meetings in secret, or counselled against any active resistance. But the whole movement was repugnant to Charles Allen. He set his face steadfastly against it from the first to the last. He addressed a little company of followers, who gathered on the front seats in the old City Hall, in a speech which I well remember. In

the course of his speech he denounced the Know Nothing movement, to whose principles and methods he was earnestly opposed. He said, "Perhaps I am speaking too boldly, but I learned to speak boldly a long time ago. I will speak my sentiments in the face of any organization ; or, if it does not show its face, though its secret mines are beneath my feet, and unseen hands ready to apply the match, I will declare those sentiments that a freeman is bound to utter." The speech was filled with the powerful and profound reasoning and the caustic wit which were alike characteristic of Mr. Allen. The candidate of the Republican party for Governor had himself joined the Know Nothings, and was advocating the election of their candidate and his own defeat. Mr. Allen's only allusion to him was in a single sentence. He said to his audience, "Fellow citizens, there is much in this campaign from which you may take courage ; you have a very respectable candidate for Lieutenant-Governor." He lived to take a leading part, in the fall of 1857, in the movement for the nomination of Gov. Banks, which led to the overthrow of Know Nothing power in Massachusetts, and to the permanent establishment of the rule of the Republican party.

The Know Nothing party carried to an unjustifiable extreme its opposition to citizens of foreign birth. Its political methods, especially the secrecy of its proceedings, are not to be defended. As old Josiah Quincy well said in a vigorous pamphlet, "The doom of the Republic is sealed when the bats take the lead of the eagles." But many persons who joined it cared little for its principles. They did not mean to continue long in its ranks ; still less to continue long in its practice of secrecy. But they thought it an excellent weapon for the destruction of the old parties, who stood in the way of the progress of free principles. They thought if the old ground were cleared and levelled, with whatever plough, they might get fresher and better crops in future. Henry Wilson joined the

party one year and abandoned it the next. He was the candidate of the Republican party for Governor in 1854, and did his best as a Know Nothing to defeat his own election. Within twelve months Mr. Wilson had been elected to the Senate of the United States and the Republican party had been organized. It came within a few thousand votes of electing its Governor in the autumn of 1855. Most of the members of the Know Nothing party returned to the Democratic party or joined the Republican party in the presidential election of 1856. The autumn of 1857 witnessed its final overthrow in Massachusetts. It soon afterward disappeared. Mr. Wilson declared later in life that his connection with that party was the fact in his career which he most regretted, and that he would give ten years of his life if he could wipe it out.

Mr. Allen took an active part in the formation of the Republican party in 1854, which, however, got little assistance from anybody but members of the old Free Soil party, and was, in fact, but that party under another name. In 1855 the attempt was renewed with greater success, and with Mr. Allen's hearty concurrence. But in that he found plenty of associates, and the course of events soon brought a large majority of the people of the state into that organization.

Mr. Allen presided at the great meeting in Worcester in aid of the Free State settlers in Kansas, in the year 1856, where he made a speech of great power, and where the citizens of Worcester raised upward of ten thousand dollars by voluntary contribution before leaving the hall. He also presided at the great meeting in the City Hall to express the public indignation at the assault on Charles Sumner in 1856. But the work of convincing the conscience and understanding of the people of Massachusetts and of organizing its political forces had been thoroughly done. Mr. Allen's last important service was in the great

influence which he exerted in bringing about the nomination of Gov. Banks, in the autumn of 1857.

He understood well and knew how to apply in practical life two of the most important texts of scripture,—the verse, "We have this treasure in earthen vessels," and the parable of the tares. I admit that both these are texts dangerous of application by men of weak intelligence or of weak moral sense. But to know when and how to apply them is to know the secret of the difference between a statesman and a fanatic. It is the secret of the difference between success and failure. He knew well that when a great cause is at stake, in the very crisis of battle, it is no time to be criticising and carping at the faults or foibles of the leader, so the battle be well ordered and the heart of the leader be true. He understood, also, that oftentimes in the life of all nations the tares cannot be uprooted without destruction to the wheat, and that both must grow together until the harvest. But he never flinched or faltered or held back from striking his mortal blow at the enemy who sowed them.

The relation of Charles Allen to the political revolution in Massachusetts was like that of his kinsman, Sam Adams, to the Revolution of 1775. He performed, with signal ability and to the entire satisfaction of his associates and of the people, every public duty which fell upon him. But, besides and beyond this, he was a leader of leaders,—a counsellor of counsellors. He had the gift of intellectual ascendancy over other minds, which, like that of Hamilton and of Sam Adams, seemed to be more complete the abler and more powerful the intellect on which his influence was exerted. There were men in the days which preceded the American Revolution more famous than Sam Adams. To a superficial observation their words and actions seemed to exert a greater influence on their contemporaries or on posterity. Hancock and John Adams and James Otis in Massachusetts, Patrick Henry and Jefferson and the other

great Virginians, produced more striking effects by single speeches or state papers than any which are recorded of Sam Adams. But he furnished, even to them, counsel, courage, decision, stimulant in great and difficult emergencies. He was ever at the helm, or it was his word that the helmsman obeyed. Ample proof of this statement will be found in the writings of the greatest of his contemporaries.

The same thing is true of Charles Allen, in his relation to the great political revolution which saved from slavery the territory between the Mississippi and the Pacific and, in the end, abolished slavery throughout the country. Sumner and Palfrey and Charles Francis Adams sat at the feet of Charles Allen and looked up to him as to an oracle and guide. His unerring judgment never failed, his courage never flinched. There cannot be found in his history the record of a single mistake.

Another thing is specially to be remarked of the career of Charles Allen; that is, the wisdom with which he selected the occasion when it was worth while to do battle. He is not found criticising his associates or his opponents for small personal faults. He never wasted his strength. He knew how to distinguish what is essential from what is non-essential. He never dealt his blows at antagonists who were sure to destroy themselves if let alone, and never gave battle when the result of the conflict was likely to be unimportant or without influence upon the final result of the war. He never destroyed the wheat with the tares. He devoted himself to the great question, not to the small question. He attacked the great antagonist and disregarded the mean antagonist. He struck his blow at the Whig party in the height and flush of its triumph. He attacked Daniel Webster in the fulness of his strength and influence. He struck at the heart and his blow was mortal. Other men, more conspicuous in the public eye, have received a larger share of credit for their service in

the great conflict for freedom. We would not pluck away one of their laurels, or detract in the least from their well-earned fame. But let us not forget him who was never mistaken in his counsel; whose Abdiel stroke was ever dealt at the right time and in the right place; who knew how to seize the moment; whose cheerful and confident courage never abated in the darkest hour and never failed in the presence of the most powerful antagonist.

THE SOCIETY'S LAND TITLES.

BY CHARLES A. CHASE.

SECOND PAPER.

It was not many years after our new Hall was built that this also was found too small for the Society's needs. The following letter, addressed to the Council, shows how the emergency was met by our President and benefactor:—

WORCESTER, June 25, 1867.

To the Council of the American Antiquarian Society:

The increase of the Library of our Society has attracted the attention of its members and friends to the necessity of securing a provision for the sufficient enlargement of the Hall. The claims of the Publishing Fund to be made adequate to the demand resulting from the unprinted materials for History in the possession of the Society, and offered from time to time, which have been urged in the Reports, may be postponed in a confident expectation that their attractive character will ensure for them the moderate provision which is required. But it is impossible to disregard the necessity of securing a safe and acceptable accommodation for the addition of books, which the continued liberality of friends as well as members of the Society will soon make too numerous for convenient consultation in our Hall. This is very apparent in the department of the fugitive and characteristic literature of the passing day: the Pamphlets and Newspapers, of which a large mass unbound is on hand. Our treasury of 1900 bound volumes of newspapers may be greatly enlarged by binding other volumes, which have been kept unbound as long as is expedient, to take advantage of the opportunities of making them more complete. A perfect series of a newspaper is a rarity in any library.

As I have heretofore received your approbation of the proposal to take advantage of the willingness of the Honorable County Commissioners of the County of Worcester to convey to this So-

ciety so much of land recently purchased and not needed for the use of the County, as is well situated and suited for our purposes, I was not willing to neglect an opportunity which may not again occur. I have obtained, and now offer to the Society, a deed of conveyance of a quadrangle of land adjoining the west side of the lot of Antiquarian Hall, being of the same width as that west side on the line of junction, and containing 1782 square feet; and that quadrangle is bounded on the North by a street 50 feet wide, on the West by an open passage 24 feet wide, and on the south by an open space about 23 feet wide, which open space separates the lot purchased from the Brick County Court House,—twelve feet of the width of the open passage and the open space being conveyed to this Society.

I also offer to this Society eight thousand (\$8000) dollars, to be held and invested safely and productively as a Building Fund, until by the accumulation of income and otherwise, the Fund shall become sufficiently large to defray the expense of erecting the desirable addition to Antiquarian Hall.

Very Respectfully Yours,

STEPHEN SALISBURY.

This “additional act of munificent liberality” was gratefully acknowledged by the Council and by the Society.¹ In nine years the fund of \$8000 had increased to \$13,000, and a contract was made for the erection of the annex, which nearly or quite doubled the storage capacity of the building.

ABSTRACT OF TITLES.

Indian Tribes of Pakachoge and Tataessit by John, alias Hoorawanponit or Quignonassett, Sagamore of Pakachoge, and Solomon, alias Woonaskochu, Sagamore of Tataessit, to Daniel Gookin, Senr., and the rest of the Genl. Courts Committee. July 18, 1674. With Middlesex Deeds. Book 8, Page 817.

Heirs of Pannasunet, another Sagamore [probably owning Wigwam Hill and neighborhood], to same grantees. Dec. 6, 1677. Mid'x Book 8, Page 818.

¹ See Proceedings at Annual Meeting, Oct. 21, 1867.

THE SUMMER STREET LOT.

Proprietors of Worcester to Messrs. Palmer, Oulton and Waldo. April 5, 1719. Proprietors' Records, Page 123.

PARTITION of lands owned in common by Thomas Palmer, Cornelius Waldo and John Oulton. Jan. 31, 1727. Book 27, Pages 14 to 66, Middlesex Registry. Palmer receives with other tracts, 51 acres bounded North by heirs of Daniel Henschman, East by Richard Wheeler, South by Wheeler and William Jennison, West by Mill Brook.

Thomas Palmer to John Chandler, jr.,¹ Feb. 23, 1737-8. Bk. 8, P. 538.²

John Chandler by will three-fifths to his son John and two-fifths to his son Gardiner. Probate Records of Supreme Court of Probate. With Suffolk Court Records, Vol. I.

Sarah Chandler, widow, release of dower to John Chandler and Gardiner Chandler, Sept. 10, 1762. B. 55, P. 206.

Gardiner Chandler to John Chandler, two-fifths, April 4, 1763. B. 55, P. 218.

State of Massachusetts to sundry persons; dower. Chap. 49, Province Laws of 1778-79.³

Judge of Probate to Mary Chandler: dower, Feb. 8, 1780.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts to Charles Chandler, Samuel Chandler, Sarah Stanton, Mary Sever, Lucretia, Thomas and Elizabeth Chandler: Fee.⁴

Aaron and Lucretia Bancroft to Charles and Samuel Chandler. Nov. 20, 1789. B. 106, P. 295.

John and Sarah Stanton to Same. Jan. 27, 1789.

B. 106, P. 297.

Thomas Chandler to Same. Dec. 24, 1789.

B. 106, P. 297.

William and Mary Sever to Same. Jan. 27, 1790.

B. 106, P. 298.

Ebenezer and Elizabeth Putnam to Same. July 10, 1794.

B. 122, P. 617.

¹ This is the second of the three John Chandlers who held the judicial and other offices in Worcester County; the father of "the honest Refugee."

The will of the first John Chandler was probated in the Probate Court of this county. The second John Chandler died on Aug. 7, 1762, and it was apparently more convenient and expeditious to take his will into the Supreme Court of Probate, consisting of the Governor and Executive Council. The will, dated Nov. 10, 1759, with codicil dated March 10, 1761, was approved and allowed Sept. 15, 1762. The two sons, John and Gardiner, were executors, and with Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick as surety, gave a bond for £3000.

² The references, unless otherwise stated, are to the Records in the Registry of Deeds for Worcester County.

³ "An Act for confiscating the estates of certain persons commonly called Absentees." Pronouncing them aliens,—their estates to enure and accrue to the full use of the government and people of this State. Section 9 of this Act is as follows:—

"THAT WHERE the wife, or widow, of any of the persons afore described, shall have remained within the jurisdiction of any of the said United States, and in part [s] under the actual authority thereof, she shall be entitled to the improvement and income of one-third part of her husband's real and personal estate (after payment of debts), during her life and continuance within the said United States; and her dower therein shall be set off to her, by the Judges of Probate of wills, in

PARTITION of Land owned in common by Samuel Chandler and Sarah, infant daughter of Charles Chandler, deceased, in which the "down town farm" of 203 acres is set off to Samuel. July 6, 1798. B. 186, P. 880.

Aaron B. Smith and Benjamin Smith, executors of the last will of Samuel Chandler to Isalah Thomas (for \$500), lot bounded South by Second Parish, West by new road so called [Summer street], North by the Worcester [Boston] Turnpike, East by land sold to Francis Blake. May 9, 1814. Book 190, Page 588.

Isalah Thomas, by his last will, probated May 8, 1881, to AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, to revert to his grandchildren generally and their heirs in case the Society should cease to use it for the library, cabinet, etc. In Worcester County Probate Registry.

Wm. A. Crocker and Frances C., his wife, quitclaim to AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. July 30, 1849. Book 457, Page 493.

Samuel L. Crocker and Caroline, his wife, to Same.	Nov. 18, 1848.	B. 457, P. 494.
William Jennison to Same.	Nov. 5, 1849.	B. 457, P. 494.
Pliny Merrick and Mary R., his wife, to Same.	Aug. 9, 1845.	B. 457, P. 495.
Abraham G. Randall and Elizabeth C., his wife, to Same.	Sept. 22, 1849.	B. 457, P. 496.
Albert G. Tarleton and Mary T., his wife, to Same.	Oct. 29, 1849.	B. 457, P. 496.
Edward I. Thomas, of New York city, to Same.	Aug. 9, 1845.	B. 457, P. 497.
Isalah Thomas, of Springfield, O., to Same.	Aug. 17, 1849.	B. 457, P. 498.
Benjamin F. Thomas to Same.	Aug. 9, 1845.	B. 457, P. 498.
Moses Thomas, of Concord, N. H., to Same.	Aug. 22, 1845.	B. 457, P. 499.
William Thomas to Same.	Nov. 17, 1848.	B. 457, P. 499.
William S. and Almira L. Worthington to Same.	Dec. 17, 1849.	B. 457, P. 500.
Isalah T. Williams to Same.	Dec. 26, 1849.	B. 457, P. 501.
Gideon D. Williams to Same.	Dec. 26, 1849.	B. 457, P. 501.

Charles and Samuel Chandler to the Second Parish, etc. June 16, 1791. Book 140, Page 440.

Executors of Will of Samuel Chandler to Francis Blake. April 27, 1814. Book 192, Page 231.

Francis Blake to Second Parish. July 12, 1815. Book 197, Page 420.

Worcester Second Parish to Samuel Damon. May 29, 1830. Book 277, Page 119.

Samuel Damon (triangular piece) to AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Dec. 26, 1836. Book 336, Page 2.

like manner as it might have been if her husband had died, intestate, within the jurisdiction of this State."

Benjamin Flagg, Nathan Perry and Sam. Miller, a committee appointed by Hon. Levi Lincoln, Esq., Judge of Probate for Worcester County, to appraise the Real Estate of John Chandler, jr., made a return fixing the whole value of such estate at \$76,515. One third thereof, including "the down town farm," valued at \$25,506, was set off as dower by the Judge of Probate, Feb. 8, 1780. Mary Chandler and Joseph Allen the State's agent "on the estate of John Chandler an absentee" assented in writing.

"Declaring them to be seized and possessed in fee simple and as tenants in common of all that part of their father's estate which was assigned and set off to their mother for her thirds, except that part which was set off by the Legislature for a Goal. Resolve: Chap. 47, May Session, 1786.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY to Worcester Academy. July 4, 1854. Book 529, Page 362.

OUR PRESENT HOME.

This is undoubtedly a part of the forty acre lot laid out "for the Minister at Worcester," granted by the Proprietors, May 20, 1714. Proprietors' Records, Page 72. Described as "lying on both sides mill brook on ye south side Capt. Wing's homestead now in ye possession of Mrs. Sarah Tomlin: bounded west by land in possession of Collr Winthrop, south by a lott laid out to Deacon John Haywood, East by common land, a highway running thro' part of this land." I have been unable to find how this came into the possession of William Jennison.

Heirs of William Jennison to Mary Stearns: Partition, Nov. 29, 1750. Probate Records.

Mary and Thomas Stearns to Edward Raymond, March 17, 1768. Book 50, Page 444.

Edward Raymond to Luke Brown (1)¹ Dec. 22, 1764. Book 56, Page 525.

Samuel Brooks, administrator of Luke Brown (1) to Luke Brown (2), reserving lot in northwest corner where Luke Brown (1) is buried, and store lot of Dr. William Shepard at southeast corner. Nov. 10, 1772. Book 69, Page 157.

Heirs of William Jennison to his grandchildren, Hannah, Samuel and Elizabeth Lydia Brown and Luke Brown (2). Partition and Decree as above.

Hannah and Samuel Brown to Luke Brown (1) one-half. Dec. 1, 1764. Book 58, Page 83.

Elizabeth Lydia Taylor to Andrew Duncan, one-fourth. Oct. 30, 1769. Book 62, Page 584.

Luke Brown and Luke Brown, jr., to Andrew Duncan south part of this lot, and Andrew Duncan to Luke Brown and Luke Brown, jr., the north part (adjoining Mary Stearns lot). Agreement and Releases. May 3, 1770. Book 61, Page 465.

[For tracts south of above, see Book 38, Page 406; Book 44, Page 288; and above-mentioned Partition and Decree.]

Samuel Brooks, executor of will of Luke Brown (2), to Isaiah Thomas. Dec. 16, 1781. Book 90, Page 191.

¹ There were three generations of Luke Browns in Worcester:—

Luke Brown (1) came from Sudbury about 1745, and kept a tavern on the west side of Lincoln Street, just north of Lincoln Square, which was afterwards called "The Hancock Arms." He married Lydia, daughter of William Jennison, who was one of the leading citizens of Worcester. On a visit to New York he contracted the smallpox, and died on April 14, 1772.

Luke, Jr. (2), succeeded his father as tavern-keeper, and died Nov. 6, 1776, aged 31. He left one son, Luke (3), and two daughters.

Luke (3), born Oct. 18, 1772, was graduated at Harvard College in 1794, studied law and practised at Hardwick.

Isalah Thomas to Clark Whittemore [part]. Nov. 24, 1807. Book 167, Page 225.

Clark Whittemore to Stephen Salisbury. March 22, 1833. Book 292, Page 157.

Luke Brown (3) heir of Luke Brown (2) to Samuel and Stephen Salisbury, north and west of last tract. April 12, 1797. Book 130, Page 45.

Samuel Salisbury to Stephen Salisbury. Oct. 22, 1812. B. 188, P. 3.

Stephen Salisbury to Stephen Salisbury, only child. INHERITANCE.

Stephen Salisbury to AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. March 10, 1851. Book 476, Page 268.

WEST PART OF PRESENT LOT.

Isalah Thomas to heirs of his daughter, Mary Ann Simmons, by will.

Worthington Williams to George A. Trumbull. Aug. 28, 1845. B. 401, P. 652.

Elizabeth C. and Abram G. Randall to same. March 18, 1848. B. 434, P. 256.

Isalah T. Williams by guardian, &c., to Levi Jackson. Aug. 14, 1845. B. 402, P. 322.

Levi Jackson to William Jennison. Aug. 14, 1845. B. 402, P. 326.

Albert G. Tarleton, quitclaim to same. Jan. 4, 1847. B. 417, P. 546.

Same and Mary T. Tarleton to same. March 2, 1848. B. 435, P. 2.

Abigail Pride, life estate, to same. Feb. 4, 1848. B. 446, P. 402.

Isalah Thomas to same. May 4, 1848. B. 446, P. 403.

Isalah T. Williams to same. March 8, 1849. B. 446, P. 403.

Frances C. and William A. Crocker, Caroline and Samuel Crocker,

and Mary C. Crocker to William Jennison. Feb. 20, 1849. B. 446, P. 404.

Benjamin F. Thomas to William Jennison, Moses Thomas and

George A. Trumbull. April 18, 1849. B. 446, P. 63.

Thomas, Jennison and Trumbull to John E. Hathaway. April 27, 1849. Book 449, Page 341.

John E. Hathaway to Stephen Salisbury a strip. June 6, 1849. Book 452, Page 460.

Stephen Salisbury to AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY with the lot fronting on Main street. March 10, 1851. Book 476, P. 268.

John E. Hathaway to Ebenezer Harrington. Sept. 4, 1849. Book 454, P. 319.

Executors of Harrington to AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, a triangular piece west of the Society's land, with a base of six feet on Highland street. May 27, 1852. Book 533, Page 390.

Executors of Harrington to Joseph S. Farnum, west of last. Nov. 28, 1854. Book 535, Page 429.

Joseph S. Farnum to County of Worcester. Jan. 8, 1866. B. 718, P. 156.

County of Worcester to AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. July 20, 1867. Book 749, Page 365.

This deed is here given for contrast with the interchanged deeds in our Proceedings, New Series, vol. xiv. Pages 208 et seq. :—

<p>Exempt from revenue stamp.</p>

County of Worcester to American Antiquarian Society.

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS that the INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTY OF WORCESTER by Charles A. Chase their Treasurer thereto lawfully authorized in consideration of two thousand three hundred and thirty-six dollars and twenty-five cents to us paid by the AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged do hereby give grant bargain sell and convey unto the said AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY its successors and assigns a tract of land on Highland Street in the City and County of Worcester, containing twenty-eight hundred and ninety and one-half feet and bounded as follows: Beginning at the Northeast corner thereof on Highland Street at land of grantees, thence running Southerly by land of grantees partly and partly across a passage way sixty-three feet five and one-half inches to a point a little Southerly of the middle of said passage way thence Westerly by a line parallel with an extension of the line of the Southerly wall of Antiquarian Hall and twelve feet distant therefrom to a point twelve feet Easterly of the land of Joseph Chamberlin thence Northerly by a line parallel with the East line of Joseph Chamberlin's land and twelve feet distant therefrom fifty eight and fifty five one hundredths feet to Highland Street thence by said Highland Street fifty feet to the point of beginning. Excepting and reserving to the grantors their successors and assigns a right to a passage way along the entire Southerly and Westerly lines of the tract above described and a right to have said twelve feet kept forever open and unobstructed and free from buildings. And hereby granting to said Society their successors and assigns a like right of a passage way over so much of the remaining land of the grantor as lies Northerly of an extension Westward of the line of the entire portion of the North face of the wall of the Brick Court House including the strip twelve feet in width between the tract above conveyed and land of Joseph Chamberlin, and also the strip between said land above conveyed and said last described line: all of said passage way so granted to be kept forever open and unobstructed.

TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the above granted premises with all the privileges and appurtenances to the same belonging to the said AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY its successors and assigns to their use and behoof forever. And we the said Inhabitants do covenant with the said American Antiquarian Society its successors and assigns that we are lawfully seized in fee simple of the aforegranted premises that they are free from all incumbrances that we have good right to sell and convey the same to the said Society its successors and assigns forever as aforesaid and that we will warrant and defend the same to the said American Antiquarian Society its successors and assigns forever against the lawful claims and demands of all persons.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF we the said Inhabitants of the County of Worcester by Charles A. Chase our Agent authorized as aforesaid have signed these presents and set our seal hereto this twentieth day of July in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and sixty seven.

Signed, sealed and delivered

in presence of

John A. Dana—^A

Inhabitants of THE COUNTY OF

WORCESTER (seal)

By CHARLES A. CHASE, Agent specially authorized

Worcester, ss. July 20, 1867.

Then personally appeared the within named Charles A. Chase and acknowledged the foregoing instrument to be the free act and deed of the Inhabitants of the COUNTY OF WORCESTER,

Before me,

John A. Dana,

Justice of the Peace.

Recd. July 23d. 1867 at 2h. 5m. P. M.

Entd. & Exd. By Alex. H. Wilder, Regr.

Worcester, ss. A true copy of Record, recorded with Worcester District Deeds, Book 749, Page 385.

Attest:

DANL. KENT, Register.

CORRIGENDA.

The statement on page 195 of the Proceedings of this Society, New Series, vol. xiv., that the first Daniel Henchman built a house on the Lincoln street estate in 1683, was derived from tradition. A careful examination of such records as are extant, made since the former paper was written, make this appear extremely doubtful.

The first grant to Henchman, and the only one of record as made during his life-time, was of 25 acres on the north side of the country road, some two miles distant from what was afterwards known as the Henchman farm. Henchman died at Worcester Oct. 15, 1685, or about ten years later. Several grants were made subsequently "to the heirs of Daniel Henchman," including the Lincoln street estate, of which 150 acres were granted in Oct., 1716, and 10½ acres two years later. It is of course possible that the last-named estate was selected by the pioneer during his life, and that he occupied it on sufferance; but this theory admits of historic doubt. The house described by Vice-President Hoar (page 163) was built by Henchman's grandson Daniel, the well-known bookseller of Boston, probably in 1742 or 1743, as appears from an instrument recorded in Book 46, Pages 396 et seq. in the Worcester District Registry.

On page 196 it should have been stated that the John Chandler, jr., who bought of Thomas Palmer, was the second of the name to wear the ermine, and was therefore the grandfather of Lucretia Chandler Bancroft. The estate passed by his will to his sons John and Gardiner: the latter conveyed his share to his brother John, Mrs. Bancroft's father, afterwards known as "the honest refugee."

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society herewith presents his annual report, showing the receipts and expenditures for the year ending October 10, 1901.

There has been carried to the several funds for the past year five and one-half per cent. on the amount of same, October 1, 1901, leaving a balance to the credit of the Income Account of \$923.63.

By direction of the Council a new fund has been established, called "The Life Membership Fund," by the transfer of \$2,150 from "The Librarian's and General Fund," where heretofore payments of life membership have been carried. The income from the new fund is to be transferred to "The Librarian's and General Fund" at the close of the financial year.

The total of the investments and cash on hand October 1, 1901, was \$146,723.17. It is divided among the several funds as follows :

The Librarian's and General Fund,.....	\$38,153.80
The Collection and Research Fund,.....	17,306.37
The Bookbinding Fund,.....	6,801.11
The Publishing Fund,.....	28,697.16
The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund,.....	11,407.59
The Lincoln Legacy Fund,.....	5,627.43
The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund,...	1,146.56
The Salisbury Building Fund,.....	5,283.23
The Alden Fund,.....	1,000.00
The Tenney Fund,.....	5,000.00
The Haven Fund,.....	1,470.26
The George Chandler Fund,.....	480.60
The Francis H. Dewey Fund,.....	3,826.81
The George E. Ellis Fund,.....	13,715.51
The John and Eliza Davis Fund,.....	3,106.12
The Life Membership Fund,.....	2,150.00
	<hr/>
	\$145,262.86
Income Account,.....	923.63
Premium Account,.....	536.69
	<hr/>
	\$146,723.17

The cash on hand, included in the following statement, is \$2,510.85.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the year ending October 10, 1901, is as follows :

DR.

1900. Oct. 10.	Balance of cash per last report,.....	\$3,716.46
1901. "	Income from investments to date,.....	8,129.36
" "	Received for annual assessments,.....	250.00
" "	Life membership fees,.....	50.00
" "	From sale of publications,	104.00
" "	From sale of the Baldwin Diary,.....	341.75
" "	From premiums on National Bank Stock,	668.25
" "	From reduction of bank capital,.....	1,100.00
	<hr/>	
	Total,.....	\$14,369.81

CR.

By salaries to October 1, 1901,.....	\$3,708.58
Publication of Proceedings, etc.,.....	1,266.00
Baldwin Diary,	637.15
Books purchased,.....	394.48
For binding,.....	352.20
For heating,.....	304.49
Repairs,	144.60
Lighting and incidentals,.....	177.10
Insurance,	70.20
Invested in Stocks,.....	675.00
Invested in Mortgage Note,.....	4,000.00
Premium on Stock,.....	102.50
Deposited in Savings Bank,.....	16.06
	<hr/>
	\$11,848.96
Balance of cash October 10, 1901,.....	2,510.85
	<hr/>

\$14,359.81

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

Balance of Fund, October 10, 1900,.....	\$40,680.83
Income to October 1, 1901,.....	2,091.70
Transferred from Tenney Fund,.....	275.00
From Life Membership Fund,.....	118.25
	<hr/>
	\$43,165.78
Paid for salaries and incidental expenses,.....	\$2,911.98
Carried to Life Membership Fund,.....	2,100.00
	<hr/>
	\$5,011.96
	<hr/>

1901, October 10. Amount of Fund, \$38,153.80

The Collection and Research Fund.

Balance October 10, 1900,.....	\$17,488.41
Income to October 10, 1901,.....	961.86
	<hr/>
	\$18,450.27
Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and incidentals,.....	1,064.90
	<hr/>
1901, October 10. Amount of Fund,.....	\$17,385.37
	<hr/>
Carried forward,	\$55,549.17

Brought forward, \$55,549.17

The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance October 10, 1900,	\$6,705.84
Income to October 10, 1901,	447.47
	<hr/>
	\$7,153.31
Paid for binding, etc.,	303.20
	<hr/>
1901, October 10. Amount of Fund,	\$6,850.11

The Publishing Fund.

Balance October 10, 1900,	\$28,583.09
Income to October 10, 1901,	1,572.07
Publications sold,	104.00
Baldwin Diary sold,	341.75
	<hr/>
	\$30,600.91
Paid on account of publications,	\$1,266.60
Baldwin Diary,	637.15
	<hr/>
	\$1,903.75
Balance October 10, 1901,	\$28,697.16

The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund.

Balance October 10, 1900,	\$10,837.05
Income to October 10, 1901,	506.04
	<hr/>
	\$11,433.09
Paid for books purchased,	26.50
	<hr/>
Balance October 10, 1901,	\$11,407.59

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance October 10, 1900,	\$5,334.06
Income to October 10, 1901,	293.37
	<hr/>
Balance October 10, 1901,	\$5,627.43

The Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Balance October 10, 1900,	\$1,164.42
Income to October 10, 1901,	64.04
	<hr/>
	\$1,228.46
Paid for local histories,	81.90
	<hr/>
Balance October 10, 1901,	\$1,146.56

Carried forward, \$109,239.02

Brought forward, \$100,229.02

The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance October 10, 1900,	\$5,434.14	
Income to October 10, 1901,	298.88	
	<hr/>	
	\$5,733.02	
Paid for electric lighting and repairs,	449.09	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 10, 1901,		\$5,283.93

The Alden Fund.

Balance October 10, 1900,	\$1,022.42	
Income to October 10, 1901,	56.23	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,078.65	
Transferred to Book-binding Fund,	78.65	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 10, 1901,		\$1,000.00

The Tenney Fund.

Balance October 10, 1900,	\$5,000.00	
Income to October 10, 1901,	275.00	
	<hr/>	
	\$5,275.00	
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,	275.00	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 10, 1901,		\$5,000.00

The Haven Fund.

Balance October 10, 1900,	\$1,433.80	
Income to October 10, 1901,	78.86	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,512.66	
Paid for books,	41.80	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 10, 1901,		\$1,470.86

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance October 10, 1900,	\$557.82	
Income to October 10, 1901,	30.68	
	<hr/>	
	\$588.50	
Paid for books,	107.90	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 10, 1901,		\$480.60

Carried forward, \$122,404.41

Brought forward, \$122,464.41

The Francis H. Dewey Fund.

Balance October 10, 1900,	\$3,633.00	
Income to October 10, 1901,	190.81	
	<hr/>	
	\$3,823.81	
Paid for books,	6.00	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 10, 1901,		\$3,826.81

The George E. Ellis Fund.

Balance October 10, 1900,	\$13,068.78	
Income to October 10, 1901,	718.23	
	<hr/>	
	\$13,777.01	
Paid for books,	61.50	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 10, 1901,		\$13,715.51

The John and Eliza Davis Fund.

Amount of Fund, October, 1900,	\$3,000.00	
Income to October 10, 1901,	165.00	
	<hr/>	
	\$3,165.00	
Paid for books,	58.88	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 10, 1901,		\$3,106.12

The Life Membership Fund.

Balance October 10, 1900,	\$2,100.00	
Received for life membership,	50.00	
Income to October 10, 1901,	118.26	
	<hr/>	
	\$2,268.26	
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,	118.26	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 10, 1901,		\$2,150.00

Total of the sixteen funds,	\$145,962.85	
Balance to the credit of Income Account,	923.63	
" " " " Premium Account,	536.69	
	<hr/>	
October 10, 1901, total,		\$146,732.17

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

No. of Shares.	STOCKS.	Amount Invested.	Par Value.	Market Value.
11	Central National Bank, Worcester,.....	\$1,100.00	\$1,100.00	\$1,596.00
11	City National Bank, Worcester,.....	1,100.00	1,100.00	1,540.00
10	Citizens National Bank, Worcester,.....	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,340.00
6	Fitchburg National Bank,.....	600.00	600.00	900.00
5	Massachusetts National Bank, Boston,.....	500.00	500.00	550.00
32	National Bank of Commerce, Boston,.....	3,200.00	3,200.00	4,000.00
3	Old Boston National Bank, Boston,	300.00	300.00	300.00
24	Quinsigamond National Bank, Worcester...	2,400.00	2,400.00	3,580.00
22	Webster National Bank, Boston,.....	2,200.00	2,200.00	2,280.00
16	Worcester National Bank,.....	1,600.00	1,600.00	2,800.00
Total of Bank Stock,.....		\$14,000.00	\$14,000.00	\$18,886.00
50	Fitchburg R. R. Co., Stock,	\$5,000.00	\$5,000.00	\$8,850.00
30	Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co.,.....Stock,	3,000.00	3,000.00	4,950.00
6	Worcester Gas Light Co.,	" 600.00	600.00	1,350.00
25	West End St. Railway Co. (Pfd.),	" 1,250.00	1,250.00	2,800.00
50	New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R.,"	8,492.61	5,000.00	10,000.00
50	Worcester Railway & Investment Co., "	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00
10	Boston Tow Boat Co.,	" 1,000.00	1,000.00	1,500.00
		\$38,342.61	\$34,850.00	\$51,945.00
BONDS.				
	Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf R. R.,... Bonds,	\$3,300.00	\$3,300.00	\$3,696.00
	Atchison, Topeka & Santa F6 R. R. Co.,	3,125.00	3,350.00	3,550.00
	Chicago & Eastern Illinois R. R. 5 per cent.,....	10,000.00	10,000.00	12,200.00
	City of Quincy Water Bonds,	4,000.00	4,000.00	4,000.00
	Congress Hotel Bonds, Chicago,.....	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00
	Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill St. Railway Co.,..	9,620.00	10,000.00	10,500.00
	Worcester & Marlborough St. Railway Co.,.....	3,000.00	3,000.00	3,150.00
	United States Envelope Co.,	11,000.00	11,000.00	12,100.00
	Wilkes Barre & Eastern R. R. Co.,.....	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,160.00
	Ellicott Square Co., Buffalo,.....	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,375.00
	Louisville & Nashville R. R.,.....	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00
	Worcester & Webster St. Ry. Co.,	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,150.00
	American Telephone & Telegraph Co.,	6,000.00	6,000.00	6,000.00
	Notes secured by mortgage of real estate,.....	36,450.00	36,450.00	36,450.00
		\$143,837.61	\$141,500.00	\$163,276.00
	Deposited in Worcester savings banks,.....	374.71	374.71	374.71
	Cash in National Bank on interest,	2,510.85	2,510.85	2,510.85
		\$146,723.17	\$144,385.56	\$166,161.56

WORCESTER, Mass., October 10, 1901.

Respectfully submitted,

NATH'L PAINE,
Treasurer.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to October 10, 1901, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, as stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

WM. A. SMITH.

A. G. BULLOCK.

October 24, 1901.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

DURING the past six months there has been a marked increase in the number of university teachers and pupils, both foreign and domestic, who have enjoyed the privileges of the library. The same may be said of members and others who have been served in person or by correspondence. While in general it may be "more blessed to give than to receive," both delights are very real and constant to one who puts heart and soul and mind into his profession.

This Society's relation to kindred institutions has always been close and friendly. A case in point is the recent action of the Society through the Library Committee, upon the application of the Essex Institute for the use of valuable material relating to Salem, Massachusetts. The manuscripts desired to be copied for publication were bequeathed to the Society by Rev. William Bentley, D.D., of Salem, in 1820, and by his nephew, Mr. William Bentley Fowle, of Boston, in 1866. In a letter addressed to your librarian on January 2, 1901, by George Francis Dow, Secretary, is the following paragraph: "This matter, as perhaps you may remember, was brought to the attention of this Society at the annual meeting last May. It now comes to life, and we have every reason to believe that a project that has been discussed pro and con during the past eighty years is about to be carried out and brought, I trust, to a completion." The correspondence between Presidents

Rantoul and Salisbury was concluded by the following letter :

The Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

Mch. 22, 1901.

To the Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, President American Antiquarian Society,

Dear Sir :—

I desire to thank you, Mr. Paine and Mr. Barton for the extremely satisfactory adjustment of the Bentley matter which was arrived at on Tuesday last. It is a great pleasure to me to know that the work is at last in progress, and there seems to be every prospect that both societies will be satisfied with the result.

Kindly send us a memorandum of any cost you may have incurred, and be sure that the conditions you have naturally felt bound to impose shall be scrupulously observed.

I am very truly yours,

ROBERT S. RANTOUL.

The first volume of the Bentley diary was taken by Mr. Dow on March 19, the second on May 28, the third on June 10, and the fourth on October 16. With a view to the best possible verification, type-written copies are made in Salem under the direction of the Secretary of the Institute, who is the bearer of despatches between the two cities. As each volume when not in use is also kept in a fire-proof vault, our property would seem to be thoroughly safeguarded.

The Library Committee, in its wise discretion, has supplied needed additions to our electric lighting, and modern chairs for the comfort of our guests. Other improvements may be expected in the near future.

With the library statistics to October 15, I offer brief comments on a few of the benefactions received from members, friends and societies. The sources of gifts number two hundred and ninety-nine; namely, forty-five members, one hundred and seventeen persons not mem-

bers, and one hundred and thirty-seven societies and institutions. We have received as gifts six hundred and ninety-six books; five thousand and thirty-two pamphlets; two bound and one hundred and thirty-two unbound volumes of newspapers; twenty portraits; nineteen lithographs; two framed and twelve unframed photographs; five proclamations; two bound and two unbound manuscripts; three broadsides; one medal; one bank-bill and a collection of war envelopes; by exchange twenty-six books and ten pamphlets; and from the bindery fifty-four volumes of newspapers and one book; a total of seven hundred and twenty-three books; five thousand and forty-two pamphlets; fifty-six bound and one hundred and thirty-two unbound volumes of newspapers, *etc.*

I offer for preservation portions of a letter addressed to the librarian by James Davie Butler, LL.D., an honored member of this Society since April 26, 1854, and fourth on the roll of membership issued last June:

Madison, May 4, 1901.

EDMUND M. BARTON, Esq.,

My dear Associate:

* * * * * You will be pleased to learn that the Floyd monument had its crowning pyramidion swung into its pride of place two weeks ago. The dedication has been fixed upon to occur on May 30, Soldiers' Memorial day—partly because six years ago on that day in 1895, the remains of Floyd were discovered—though not till after many a vain endeavor to ascertain the spot of his second burial. At his third burial I was among the speakers, in 1895, on the anniversary of his death Aug. 20, 1804. I then laid on his funeral urn his Journal which it is our joy to have rescued from oblivion. I expect to bear that *MS.* thither again that the sight of it may gladden as many eyes as possible.

That writing I look on as the acorn from which has speedily grown an obelisk higher, stronger and more enduring than any oak. It will gratify you that your Society was a dynamo to start the germinating forces.

* * * * * It was well to print Baldwin's Journal—no

man can read a page without learning something he would not willingly leave unknown. I even learned something about the oldest settler in this county of Dane, and a man who may be said to have given the casting vote which decided that Madison should become the State Capital. * * * * *

Respectfully,

JAMES D. BUTLER.

I insert a biographical paragraph from a letter by our recently elected member from South Carolina: "The full name is Charles Stuart Vedder. The name suggests one who had his head cut off, and I have never had any pride in my namesake, but there is a family tradition that the headless man was somewhere near the head of our ancestral line."

The value of the gifts of our Recording Secretary is often increased by the addition of an explanatory note or a missing date. For instance, the Revere House menu of June 25, 1901, contains the autographs of the sixteen members of the Harvard University Class of 1855 who were present on that occasion. Our founder set an excellent example in this direction which we may well follow.

The semi-annual gift of Mr. Andrew McF. Davis includes the type-written collection of Worcester Court Papers, which supplements the "John Chandler, American Loyalist," documents copied for us in the Public Record Office in London by our associate, Benjamin F. Stevens, L.H.D., and acknowledged in the last report. The volume from Mr. Davis contains his notes, comments, list of papers and the following title-page: Certified Copies | of the papers | on file | in the Probate Court of Worcester County in the | Commonwealth of Massachusetts | in the Case of | JOHN CHANDLER An Absentee, to which is appended | A Certified Transcript of the | Records | of the Cases of | The State *vs.* Chandler | Under the Confisca-

tion Act | in 1780. | Brought in the | Inferiour Court of
Common Pleas. | Worcester. | 1901.

Mr. Benjamin Thomas Hill presents with early Worcester newspapers, his sketch of the life of our founder Isaiah Thomas, LL.D. It is a reprint from the July, 1901, number of *The Worcester Magazine*, the official organ of the Worcester Board of Trade, and contains several excellent half-tone illustrations. The representation of the Thomas tomb in the Worcester Rural Cemetery suggests that four years after the publication of the Memoir of Isaiah Thomas by his grandson, Hon. Benjamin F. Thomas, on June 24, 1878, occurred the reinterment of the remains of the Revolutionary patriot and printer. I note for indexing and convenience of future reference that not only our Proceedings and the newspapers of the period, but the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons contain material relating thereto. The cemetery lot to which the tomb was transferred from the abandoned Mechanic Street Burying-Ground, was the gift of members of this Society, whose librarian has counted it one of his privileges to keep careful watch over this ivy-covered, granite mausoleum, the key to which is in our possession. The late President Salisbury, near the close of his admirable address at the reinterment exercises, in Mechanics Hall, said: "I offer a brief and imperfect outline of the American Antiquarian Society, but you will see that it is written all over with the name which you desire to honor. I will not estimate the local advantages of this institution. I will only venture to say that it is the oldest school for higher learning in your city. It is free and freely used, and it is one of the rare instances of success in the elective system. The founder and his associates and successors do not belong to the old class of miserly antiquaries who buried their treasures with themselves and cultivated rust. The aim of this Society is to restore to newness of life the

relics of the past and apply them to the uses of today. If Don Quixote should bring here a venerable copper supposed to be Mambrino's Helmet it would be faithfully scoured until it was valued as a part of the armor of truth and justice, or cast away as a barber's basin that could never again shave except in a lawful way."

Mr. Frank Roe Batchelder recently wrote for *The American Boy* a short but interesting sketch of the early life of Thomas, which was reprinted in the *Worcester Sunday Spy* of July 21, 1901.

From Vice-President Hoar we have received the remainders of many of his more important addresses and speeches. Dr. James F. Rhodes has presented his four-volume "History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850"; and Rev. Dr. Williston Walker his "Ten New England Leaders." Dr. William DeLoss Love has placed in our local history alcove his "Half Century History of Farmington Avenue Congregational Church of Hartford, Connecticut"; and Mr. Edward Hooker Gilbert has enriched our department of family history with "Homes of the Massachusetts Ancestors of General Joseph Hooker."

Dr. Joseph F. Loubat has made the following important addition to the Davis Spanish-American collection: The Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection. | An old Mexican Picture Manuscript in the Paris National Library | Manuscrits Mexicains No. 18-19. | Published at the Expense of his Excellency the Duke of Loubat. | With Introduction and Explanatory Text | by | Dr. Eduard Seler, | Professor of American Linguistics, Ethnography, and Archæology | in the University of Berlin. | Berlin and London 1900-1901. The German edition was acknowledged to Dr. Loubat in my last report, and the translation into English is by A. H. Keane, late Vice-President of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

The various special funds for the purchase of books, the first of which was established in the year 1868 by Hon. Isaac Davis and extended by his son, Councillor Edward L. Davis, in 1891, and the last in the year 1900 by Hon. J. C. Bancroft Davis, Hon. Horace Davis and Andrew McF. Davis, A.M., have all been drawn upon in the interest of the departments which they severally represent.

Mr. Charles C. Beale has added materially to our stenographic literature. It is a special pleasure to have such an expert authority speak of our "very choice collection of shorthand works," and further to recall the fact that Mr. Herbert R. Cummings gave to the Society his valuable library in this interesting specialty, partly on account of our assistance in its formation.

Lord Crawford has again remembered the Society in the distribution of the parts of the very limited edition of his *Biblioteca Lindesiana* with collations and notes.

The gift of Mrs. William T. Forbes, *editor*, of her "Selections from the Diary of the Reverend Ebenezer Parkman," suggests the importance of bringing into one repository the scattered note-books of this interesting divine. Mr. Parkman's life was chiefly passed in Westborough, Massachusetts, where he ministered from 1724 until his death in 1782. We have four volumes of his Diary covering, with some breaks, Aug. 1, 1723—5 Sept., 1728; 1 Jan., 1756—31 May, 1761; and 1 Jan., 1779—30 Nov., 1782. Our earliest volume lacks the first fourteen pages, and there are long periods omitted, apparently with intent. As the rubricated title-page contains important evidence in the case, I submit it: Diurna | or | An Account | of | The Remarkable | Transactions | of | Every Day | No. 7 | being a Continuation of a Design form'd | in the Year 1719, 20 February 19th. | Prov. 14. 8. Ps. 19. 12.

Dr. Oliver H. Everett's gift includes a complete set of

The Harvard Graduates' Magazine, which he kindly offers to continue; and a valuable parcel of the War envelopes of 1861-1865, which supplements our already large collection. The memorial of William Henry Haile received from "Mrs. Haile and the Family" has been placed in our Alcove of Biography, for which we greatly desire the class of material of which this is an excellent example. A first instalment of books and pamphlets from Capt. Winslow S. Lincoln reminds us that the Lincoln family has never allowed us to forget their interest in the founding and successful continuance of this Society.

We acknowledge to Richard C. Morse, General Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Associations of North America, "The Jubilee Year Book, 1851-1901." Of this important series of year books we lack all before 1878, also 1881, 1883, 1885 and 1887; and of the Convention reports, numbers 2-11, 23, 29, 30, 32 and 34. Mr. Benjamin Heywood Stone's kindly service in the hanging of our office portraits should find mention in this report.

Mrs. Edward C. Thayer has placed upon our walls the two framed photographs of about five hundred citizens of Worcester. The collection was made by Mr. George R. Peckham in 1870, and was also sold in book form. President Salisbury, Senior, secured the originals, from which the plates for the market were greatly reduced, for presentation to this Society.

Rev. Thomas W. Thompson, formerly a missionary to Japan, in the service of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, has added to our already large collection over a thousand pamphlets relating to the world's missionary movements.

In addition to the genealogies purchased with the income of the George Chandler fund, mention should be made of the following givers of like material: Messrs. Frederic Amory, Elroy Avery, Josiah H. Benton, Jr., Marshall Field and Edward J. Sellers. The Field Genealogy was

sent at the suggestion of the author, Mr. Frederick C. Pierce.

The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts has presented the fourth and final volume of its elaborate History 1637-1888. Under Mr. Oliver Ayers Roberts, the efficient historian of the company, the first volume was issued in 1895, the second in 1897, the third in 1898, and the fourth in 1901. They contain a fund of biographical material regarding many of the leading families of Massachusetts during the two hundred and fifty years which the record covers.

The Connecticut Historical Society's List of Genealogies in its Library, 1901, recently received, will be especially valuable to historical and genealogical societies whose libraries are now so vigorously searched for such records.

The Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa has favored us with Volume 1 of its Transactions, a royal quarto volume of one hundred and eighty-eight pages. The modest, rubricated cover title-page exhibits the excellent taste of cultivated women, while the brief but affectionate legend thereon, *Love Thou Thy Land*, appeals to home lovers of all countries. The number of essays is twenty-six, and of writers twenty-two. I heartily recommend the addition of this possibly unique society to our list of exchanges.

The recent celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the graduation from Dartmouth College of Daniel Webster, reminds us of his long and faithful service to this Society. Our invaluable collection of autograph acceptances of membership from 1812 to the present time, contains the following, which was addressed to the Recording Secretary, Hon. Oliver Fiske, Worcester, Mass., and is endorsed by President Thomas, "Hon. Daniel Webster of Newhampshire":

Washington, Feb. 5, 1815.

Sir,

I owe you an apology for not having at an earlier period expressed my thanks to the American Antiquarian Society for the honor they have done me in placing my name in the catalogue of their members. The objects, plan, & organization of the Society are such, I think, as promise great aid to the progress of useful knowledge, & are particularly adapted to the preservation of the materials for the future history of our own Country.

Will you give me leave, thro' you, to present to the Society, Camden's *Britannia*, Gibson's translation, London Ed. 1695. Tho' not particularly connected with the more immediate objects of the institution, it may not be without its use, in the Library of the Society, & is not at all times to be procured in the United States. The Book is here. I shall commit it to the charge of my much esteemed friend, & your worthy Representative, Mr. Bigelow.

I have the honor to be,

Sir, Y^r Ob^{se}vt

DAN'L WEBSTER.

The Gibson's folio edition of Camden's *Britannia* referred to, has long had the companionship of the Mather library folios. It bears the autographs of Wm. Vincent in 1769 and of J. Wiley, of Georgetown, District of Columbia, in 1814, with the value entry by Isaiah Thomas, "10 dols." On the page of dedication President Thomas has written, "Presented to the American Antiquarian Society by Hon. Daniel Webster of Portsmouth N. H. May 1815."

In the search for Yale material this bi-centennial year, we have both given and received light upon the literature of the great university. I call attention to a volume in our collection of music, not found in Warrington's check-list, of which the following is a lined title: *BEAUTIES OF PSALMODY*:¹ | Containing Concisely the Rules of Sing-

¹ "Beauties of Psalmody was issued in 1786 by Chauncey Langdon (Yale Coll., 1787)."

ing | with a | Collection of the most approved PSALM-TUNES and ANTHEMS | By a member of the Musical Society of Yale College | These ever new nor subject to decay | Spread and grow brighter with the length of day. It is an oblong book, 3½ x 10 inches, containing fifty-six pages, forty-eight of which are devoted to psalm-tunes and anthems. On the inner cover are ink scribblings in Latin, probably written by a student then in Yale. The autograph of the giver to this Society appears on the reverse of the title-page, with date of the gift, "Charles E. Briggs, July 29, 1869." Below this entry Dr. Haven has carefully recorded: "This had the name of Fox written on it with the date of 1789." The earliest Fox mentioned in the Yale Quinquennial is James Angel Fox of the class of 1816, afterwards President of Jefferson College, Mississippi, who took his master's degree in 1826. He may have been the owner of this exceedingly rare eighteenth century imprint. More light is desired upon the Society, the compiler, the publisher and the date of publication.

I also submit a poetic contribution which is of a less serious character. It is from No. 797, Monday, November 19, 1750, of our file of *The Boston Evening Post* and is entitled:

AN EPITAPH

Upon *Thomas Turny* late Sweeper of *Yale College* in *New Haven*.

When Life hath fail'd one; (and Life's but a Bubble!)
Death laid his Limbs in the Cold Dust 'tis Cry'd:
But here lies one, who fain would save Death Trouble,
And laid his Limbs in Dust, oft e'er he dy'd,
Yet dy'd in Hope, that he should rise again,
And be deliver'd from his dusty Prison;
And to Convince us he believed the same,
As often from the Dust he has arisen.
Here let Tom lie, bereav'd of Punch and Broom,
Of Virgil, Grammar, Flip, and ten Things more,
Till he shall rise from Death, and his Cold Tomb,
'Tis what he's done ten thousand times before.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.

Givers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

- BARTON, EDMUND M., Worcester.—One hundred and fifteen text-books; three magazines in continuation; and one photograph.
- BOWDITCH, CHARLES P., Boston.—Two of his publications upon the Maya Chronology.
- BUTLER, JAMES D., LL.D., Madison, Wis.—Two photographs.
- CHASE, CHARLES A., Worcester.—Three books; one hundred and sixty-two pamphlets; and one manuscript.
- CHAVERO, ALFREDO, Mexico.—Three of his publications relating to Mexico.
- DAVIS, ANDREW McF., Cambridge.—“John Chandler, American Loyalist, Worcester Court Papers”; seven books; and one hundred and thirty-one pamphlets.
- DAVIS, HON. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Seven books; and thirty-four pamphlets.
- DEXTER, FRANKLIN B., New Haven, Conn.—His “Manuscripts of Jonathan Edwards.”
- FOSTER, WILLIAM E., L.H.D., Providence, R. I.—Exercises at the opening of the Providence Public Library, containing Mr. Foster’s address.
- GILBERT, EDWARD H., Ware.—“Homes of the Massachusetts Ancestors of Gen. Joseph Hooker.”
- HILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D., Baltimore, Md.—Four of his own publications.
- GREEN, ANDREW H., *President*, New York.—The Sixth Annual Report of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society; and the Seventeenth Annual Report of the Commissioners of the State Reservation at Niagara.
- GREEN, HON. SAMUEL A., Boston.—Three of his own publications; thirty books; two hundred and ninety-one pamphlets; one lithograph; and “The American Journal of Numismatics,” as issued.
- HALE, REV. EDWARD E., D.D., Roxbury.—Numbers of “The Lend a Hand Record.”
- HILL, BENJAMIN T., Worcester.—His “Sketch of Isalah Thomas”; and a parcel of Worcester newspapers of the year 1847.

- HOAR, HON. GEORGE F., Worcester.—Seventeen of his own publications; forty-three books; ten hundred and sixty pamphlets; sixty-seven maps; three portraits; one photograph; and six files of newspapers, in continuation.
- LEÓN, NICOLÁS, Ph.D., Mexico.—Three of his linguistic papers.
- LOUBAT, JOSEPH F., LL.D., New York.—“The Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection, an old Mexican Manuscript.”
- LOVE, REV. WILLIAM DEL., Ph.D., Hartford, Conn.—His “Half-Century History of Farrington Avenue Congregational Church,” Hartford, Connecticut.
- MERRIMAN, REV. DANIEL, D.D., Worcester.—Two books; one hundred and sixty-six pamphlets; and “The Nation,” and “The Saturday Review,” in continuation.
- MOORE, CLARENCE B., LL.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His “Certain Aboriginal Remains of Northwest Florida.” Part I.
- PAINE, REV. GEORGE S., Worcester.—Two portraits; and numbers of English illustrated newspapers.
- PAINE, NATHANIEL, Worcester.—His “Worcester’s Old Common”; one book; two hundred and twenty-four pamphlets; seventeen portraits; sixteen heliotypes; two photographs; and four files of newspapers, in continuation.
- PEET, STEPHEN D., Ph.D., *Editor*, Chicago, Ill.—“The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal,” as issued.
- RHODES, JAMES F., LL.D., Boston.—His “History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850”—in 4 volumes.
- RUSSELL, E. HARLOW, *Principal*, Worcester.—“Catalogue and Circular of the Massachusetts State Normal School at Worcester, 1901.”
- SALISBURY, STEPHEN, Worcester.—“Vital Statistics of Northborough, Mass., to 1850”; four books; two hundred and three pamphlets; one broadside; and seven files of newspapers, in continuation.
- SMYTH, REV. EGBERT C., D.D., Andover.—Catalogue of Andover Theological Seminary, 1900-1901.
- STEBBINS, REV. CALVIN, Framingham.—His “John Marshall, a discourse at Framingham, January 27, 1901.”
- THOMAS, ALLEN C., *Editor*, Haverford, Pa.—“Biographical Catalogue of the Matriculates of Haverford College, 1833-1890.”
- UPHAM, HENRY P., St. Paul, Minn.—Charlevoix’s “History and General Description of New France.” Volumes 3-5.
- UTLEY, SAMUEL, Worcester.—Two pamphlets.
- VOLLGRAFF, JOHANN C., L.H.D., Brussels, Belgium.—His “Problèmes Musicaux d’Aristote.” Part 2.
- WALKER, REV. WILLISTON, D.D., Hartford, Conn.—His “Ten New England Leaders.”

- WHITNEY, JAMES L., Cambridge.—His Report of 1900-1901 as Librarian of the Boston Public Library.
- WILLIAMSON, JOSEPH, Litt. D., Belfast, Me.—City of Belfast Reports, 1900, containing Mr. Williamson's Report on the Public Schools.
- WRIGHT, CARROLL D., LL.D., *Commissioner*, Washington, D. C.—His Labor Report for the year 1900.

FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

- ABELL COMPANY, A. S., Baltimore, Md.—Numbers of "The Baltimore Sun."
- AMORY, FREDERIC, Boston.—"Descendants of Hugh Amory, 1605-1805."
- ARNOLD, JAMES N., Providence, R. I.—Two of his papers relating to Governor Benedict Arnold.
- ATKIN, EDGAR, New York.—"A Roman Lawyer in Jerusalem, First Century."
- AVERY, ELROY, Cleveland, O.—"Avery Notes and Queries," as issued.
- BAKER and TAYLOR COMPANY, New York.—"The Library Bulletin," as issued.
- BARTON, MISS CLARA, *President*, Washington, D. C.—Her Report of the Red Cross Relief at Galveston, Texas.
- BARTON, E. BLAKE, Worcester.—Numbers of "Association Men."
- BARTON, MISS LYDIA M., Worcester.—"The Association Record," in continuation.
- BATCHELLOR, A. S., Littleton, Vt.—His "Historical Sketch of the First Congregational Church at Littleton, Vt."
- BEALE, CHARLES C., Boston.—His "Shorthand's long History"; The Beale Shorthand, 9th edition; and Proceedings of the New England Shorthand Reporters' Association, 1889-1900.
- BEER, WILLIAM, New Orleans, La.—"Account of Stone Fort at Nacogdoches, Texas."
- BENTON, JOSIAH H., Jr., Boston.—His "Samuel Slade Benton, his Ancestors and Descendants."
- BERI, HENRI, *Directeur*, Paris, France.—Numbers of "La Revue Synthèse Historique."
- BERRY, JOHN C., M.D., Worcester.—"Medical and Surgical Register of the United States and Canada," for 1898.
- BERRY, JOHN M., Millbury.—His "Fair Representation and Equality of Voters."
- BILLBOARD PUBLISHING COMPANY, Cincinnati, O.—Numbers of "The Billboard."
- BLANCHARD, FRANK S., Worcester.—Slocumb's "A Notable New England Printshop."
- BOSTON BOOK COMPANY.—"The Bulletin of Bibliography," as issued.

- BROWN, FREEMAN, *Clerk*, Worcester.—Annual Report of the Board of Overseers of the Poor, 1900.
- BROWNE, FRANCIS F., *Editor*, Chicago, Ill.—Numbers of "The Dial."
- BROWNE, MISS NINA E., Boston.—Souvenir Medal of American Library Association, Waukesha, 1901.
- BUFFINGTON, MRS. ELISHA D., Worcester.—A Farmers' Exchange Bank-bill of 1800.
- CANFIELD, MISS PENELOPE W. S., Worcester.—"The Army and Navy Journal" and "The Southern Letter," in continuation.
- CHASE, LEVI B., Sturbridge.—Revised Edition of his "Map Interpretation of Woodward and Saffery's Survey of 1642."
- CONANT, LEVI L., Ph.D., Worcester.—Worcester Directory for 1896.
- CORNISH, LOUIS H., *Editor*, New York.—"The Spirit of '76," as issued.
- CUNNINGHAM, HENRY W., Boston.—His "Andrew Cunningham of Boston and some of his Descendants."
- CURRIER, FREDERICK A., Fitchburg.—One pamphlet.
- DAVIS, Capt. GEORGE E., Burlington, Vt.—"After Twenty-five Years: A Memorial of the tent-meeting in Ludlow, Vt., in 1875."
- DECOSTA, Rev. BENJAMIN F., D.D., New York.—His "Harriet Cooper Spencer De Costa. In memoriam."
- DE LA, ROCHELLE P. G., Boston.—Numbers of "La France."
- DE MENIL, ALEXANDER, St. Louis, Mo.—"The Hesperian," as issued.
- DODD, MEAD AND COMPANY, New York.—One pamphlet.
- DODGE, JAMES H., *City Auditor*, Boston.—His Report for 1900-1901.
- DRAPER, JAMES, *Secretary*, Worcester.—Annual Report of the Worcester Parks Commission for 1900.
- EATON, Mrs. GEORGE T., Andover.—"The Missionary Herald"; and "The Home Missionary" for 1900-1901.
- ELLSWORTH, J. LEWIS, Worcester.—Manual of the General Court of Massachusetts, 1901.
- ERICKSON, KARL H., Worcester.—"Arithmetical Tables for the use of Schools"; New York, 1807; and one broadside.
- EVERETT, OLIVER H., M.D., Worcester.—Fifty-three books; fifty-six pamphlets; "The Harvard Graduates' Magazine." Vols. 1-8; seven photographs; one map; and a collection of war envelopes, 1861-1865.
- FIELD, MARSHALL, Chicago, Ill.—Pierce's "Field Genealogy" in two volumes.
- FOLSOM, Capt. ALBERT A., Boston.—"John Foulsham."
- FORBES, Mrs. WILLIAM T., *Editor*, Worcester.—"The Diary of Rev. Ebenezer Parkman, of Westborough, Mass."
- FORD, WORTHINGTON C., *Editor*, Boston.—"Letters of Joseph Jones to James Madison, 1788-1802."

- FROWDE, HENRY, London, Eng.—“The Periodical,” as issued.
- GAY, JULIUS, Farmington, Conn.—His “The Tunxis Indians.”
- GAZETTE COMPANY.—The Worcester Evening Gazette, as issued.
- GINN AND COMPANY, Boston.—“The Text Book Bulletin,” as issued.
- GOLDEN RULE COMPANY, Boston.—“The Christian Endeavor World,” as issued.
- GOOLD, NATHAN, Portland, Me.—Two of his own publications.
- GREEN, JAMES, Worcester.—His “Causes of the War in South Africa, from the American lawyer’s standpoint”; first and second editions; twenty-two books; and eighty-two pamphlets.
- GREENE, RICHARD H., *Secretary-General*, New York.—“The General Society of Mayflower Descendants, Meetings, Officers, etc.”
- GREENLAW, Mrs. LUCY H., *Editor*, Cambridge.—“The Genealogical Advertiser,” as issued.
- GREGSON, Rev. JOHN, Wiscasset, Me.—His Sermon before the Graduating Class of the Wiscasset Academy, June 9, 1901; and four pamphlets.
- HAILE, Mrs. WILLIAM H., AND FAMILY, Springfield.—“In Memoriam William Henry Haile.”
- HAMILTON, F. WALTER, Worcester.—Menu for the American Antiquarian Society Dinner, October 21, 1868.
- HAPGOOD, Mrs. WALTER J., Worcester.—Maitland’s History of London, London, 1756, 2 vols., folio; and four selected books.
- HARRIMAN, Rev. FREDERICK W., D.D., *Secretary*, Windsor, Conn.—Journal of Connecticut Diocesan Convention, 1901.
- HARRINGTON, FRANCIS S., Needham.—“Barclay’s Complete and Universal Dictionary,” London, 1799.
- HILL, Rev. HOWARD F., Littleton, N. H.—Bingham’s “Influence of Religion upon Human Progress,” with introduction by Mr. Hill.
- HOLBROOK, LEVI, New York.—One pamphlet.
- HOWLAND, ALBERT H., Worcester.—Four books; and three pamphlets.
- ILES, GEORGE, New York.—His “Trusteeship of Literature.”
- JACKSON, Rev. GEORGE A., Boston.—His “New England’s Present Library Problem.”
- JOHNSON, FREDERICK C., Wilkes-Barré, Pa.—His “Pioneer Women of Wyoming.”
- KIMBALL, GEORGE A., Worcester.—“The Churchman,” 1891-1900; “The Cottager,” 1900; and “The Healthy Home,” 1900.
- LAWTON, Mrs. S. E. REED-, Worcester.—One hundred and ten pamphlets; and one portrait.
- LEWIS, ARTHUR G., Worcester.—“Program of the Webster Centennial, Dartmouth College, Sept. 24, 25, 1901.”

- LINCOLN, Capt. WINSLOW S., Worcester.—Sixty-four books; and two hundred and forty pamphlets.
- LINDSAY, JAMES L., LL.D., Wigan, England.—“*Biblioteca Lindesiana*,” No. 5, with Collations and Notes.
- LYTLE, JOHN J., *Secretary*, Philadelphia, Pa.—Numbers of “*The Journal of Prison Discipline and Philanthropy*.”
- MACMILLAN COMPANY, New York.—“*Book Reviews*,” as issued.
- MANN, GEORGE S., Brookline.—His “*Historical Sketch of the Bennet Hill School, Petersham, Mass.*”
- MAYOR, JOHN E. B., Cambridge, England.—His *Tribute to Franz Heinrich Reusch*; and Thirlwell’s “*Centre of Unity*.”
- MESSINGER COMPANY, Worcester.—“*The Messenger*,” as issued.
- MORRISON, Rev. NATHAN F., D.D., *President*, Wichita, Kansas.—The *Sixth Annual Report of Fairmount College*.
- MORSE, RICHARD C., *General Secretary*, New York.—“*The Jubilee Year Book of Y. M. C. Associations of North America, 1851-1901*.”
- NEW YORK EVENING POST PRINTING COMPANY.—“*The Nation*,” as issued.
- O’CONNELL, Hon. PHILIP J., Worcester.—His *Inaugural Address as Mayor of Worcester, February 25, 1901*.
- PAINE, JAMES P., Worcester.—*Parcels of English newspapers*.
- PEABODY, CHARLES A., M.D., *Superintendent*, Worcester.—The *Thirtieth Annual Report of the City Hospital of Worcester*.
- PEÑAFIEL, ANTONIO, *Director*, Mexico, Mex.—Three of the statistical publications of the Republic of Mexico.
- READE, Mrs. WILLIAM CHURCHILL, Beverly.—“*Account of Picturesque Apple Tree Lodge*.”
- RICE, Mrs. BENJAMIN T., Worcester.—Numbers of *Harvard University magazines*.
- RICE, FRANCIS B., Boston.—*Manuscript letters of Hon. Levi Lincoln and Samuel Foster Haven*.
- RICH, MARSHALL N., *Editor*, Portland, Me.—“*The Portland Board of Trade Journal*,” as issued.
- ROBINSON, Miss MARY, Worcester.—Two books; and two magazines in continuation.
- ROK, Hon. ALFRED S., Worcester.—His “*My Flower Garden*.”
- SELLERS, EDWARD J., Philadelphia, Pa.—His “*Allied Families of Delaware*.”
- SENTINEL PRINTING COMPANY, Fitchburg.—“*The Fitchburg Weekly Sentinel*,” as issued.
- SEWARD, GEORGE F., *Chairman*, New York.—Two reports of the Committee on State and Municipal Taxation.

- SLAFTER, REV. EDMUND F., D.D., *Registrar*, Boston.—His Eighteenth Annual Report to the Diocesan Convention.
- SOLBERG, THORWALD, *Register*, Washington, D. C.—Copyright business statement to June 30, 1901.
- SOUTHER, WILLIAM T., M.D., *Compiler*, Worcester.—“Yale Alumni Songs.”
- SPOONER, Miss JENNIE C., Barre.—“The Barre Gazette,” as issued.
- SPY PUBLISHING COMPANY.—“The Worcester Daily Spy” and “The Massachusetts Spy,” as issued.
- STARR, FREDERICK, Chicago, Ill.—His “Mexican Paper: Notes upon the Mandrake, and the Tagal alphabet.”
- STEWART, GUSTAVUS S., Gardiner, Me.—“The Gardiner of Fifty Years Ago.”
- STILES, ROBERT, Richmond, Va.—His “Review of Dr. Curry’s Civil History of the Confederate States.”
- TELEGRAM NEWSPAPER COMPANY.—The Worcester Daily Telegram; and the Sunday Telegram in continuation; two volumes bound and two unbound.
- TERRY, JAMES, New Haven, Conn.—Two pamphlets.
- THAYER, Mrs. EDWARD C., Keene, N. H.—Two framed photographs of citizens of Worcester.
- THOMPSON, Rev. THOMAS W., Worcester.—Ten books; eleven hundred and thirty-eight pamphlets; two maps and two lithographs.
- TOPPAN, Mrs. ROBERT N., Cambridge.—Tributes to Robert N. Toppan.
- TURNER, JOHN H., Ayer.—“The Groton Landmark,” as issued.
- TWENTIETH CENTURY COMPANY, Worcester.—“The Chronapax,” as issued.
- VINTON, Rev. ALEXANDER H., D.D., Worcester.—“The Parish,” as issued.
- WARDEN, WILLIAM A., Worcester.—His “Ancestors, Kin and Descendants of John Warden.”
- WARRREN, Rev. WILLIAM F., D.D., *President*, Boston.—His Annual Report, 1901, of Boston University.
- WESBY, JOSEPH S. & SONS, Worcester.—Eight books; two hundred and ninety pamphlets; and two files of newspapers, in continuation.
- WHITCOMB, Miss MARY G., Worcester.—Fifteen pamphlets.
- WHITE, Mrs. CAROLINE E., *Editor*, Philadelphia, Pa.—“The Journal of Zoöphily,” as issued.
- WHITE AND WALKER, Hartford, Conn.—“Trips by Trolley Around Hartford,” 1901.
- WILLIAMSON, FRANK E., Worcester.—Railroad ticket to the Worcester Regatta of July 19, 1867.

WOODWARD, LEMUEL F., M.D., Worcester.—Two books; two hundred and six pamphlets; and one portrait.

WRIGHT, W. H. K., Plymouth, England.—One broadside.

YOUNG AND FARRELL, Washington, D. C.—Numbers of "The Index and Review."

FROM SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.

ACADEMY OF SCIENCE OF ST. LOUIS.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.

AMERICAN ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE.—Publications of the League, as issued.

AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.—"The Baptist Missionary Magazine," as issued.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION.—The Forty-eighth Annual Report.

AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.—The Annual Report for 1899.

AMERICAN IRISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

AMERICAN SEAMEN'S FRIEND SOCIETY.—"The Sailor's Magazine," as issued.

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE EXTENSION OF UNIVERSITY TEACHING.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION.—Publications of the Association, as issued.

ANCIENT AND HONORABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY OF MASSACHUSETTS.—History of the Company, Vol. 4; and the Two hundred and sixty-second Annual Record.

AUSTRALIAN MUSEUM.—Publications of the Museum, as issued.

BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE DI FIRENZE.—The Library Publications, as issued.

BOSTON BOARD OF HEALTH.—Publications of the Board, as issued.

BOSTON, CITY OF.—Six volumes of City documents for 1900.

- BOSTON PORT AND SEAMAN'S AID SOCIETY.**—The Thirty-fourth Annual Report.
- BOSTON UNIVERSITY.**—Year Book, vol. 28.
- BOWDOIN COLLEGE.**—Publications of the College, as issued.
- BROOKLYN INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.**—Publications of the Institute, as issued.
- BROWN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.**—One pamphlet.
- BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.**—Proceedings of the Association, 1901.
- BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY.**—The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Annual Reports.
- CAMBRIDGE (ENGLAND) ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.**—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- CANADIAN INSTITUTE.**—Publications of the Institute, as issued.
- CHAUTAUQUA ASSEMBLY.**—Numbers of "The Quarterly."
- CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- CINCINNATI PUBLIC LIBRARY.**—Library publications, as issued.
- CITY LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, Springfield, Mass.**—Publications of the Association, as issued.
- COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.**—Publications of the University, as issued.
- CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- CONNECTICUT STATE LIBRARY.**—Four State documents; and five proclamations.
- DORCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.**—The seventh printed library report.
- ELIOT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- ESSEX INSTITUTE.**—Publications of the Institute, as issued.
- FIELD COLUMBIAN MUSEUM.**—Publications of the Museum, as issued.
- FITCHBURG, CITY OF.**—City documents for 1900; and Municipal Register, 1901.
- FITCHBURG RAILROAD COMPANY.**—The Sixtieth Annual Report.
- FORBES LIBRARY, Northampton.**—The Sixth Annual Report.
- GENERAL THEOLOGICAL LIBRARY, Boston.**—The Thirty-ninth Annual Report.
- HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.**—Publications of the Seminary, as issued.
- HAVERHILL PUBLIC LIBRARY.**—The Twenty-Sixth Annual Report; and the Library Bulletin, as issued.
- HELENA PUBLIC LIBRARY.**—The Library publications, as issued.
- HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF IOWA.**—"Annals of Iowa," as issued.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

HISTORISCHER VEREIN DER OBERPFALZ UND REGENSBURG.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

JERSEY CITY FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.

JOHN CRERAR LIBRARY, Chicago, Ill.—The Sixth Annual Report.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.—Publications of the University, as issued.

LAKE PLACID CLUB, Morningside, N. Y.—Handbook of the Club, 1901.

LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY.—Publications of the University, as issued.

LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.—Publications of the Company, as issued.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.—Library publications, as issued.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

MANCHESTER HISTORIC ASSOCIATION.—Publications of the Association, as issued.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

MANCHESTER INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS, COMMONWEALTH OF.—Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolutionary War, Vol. 6; Acts and Resolves, 1901; Report and Census, Vol. 7.

MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL.—The Eighty-seventh Annual Report.

MASSACHUSETTS GRAND LODGE OF ANCIENT FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.—Proceedings of the Grand Lodge, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS INFANT ASYLUM.—The Thirty-fourth Annual Report.

MASSACHUSETTS MEDICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS SOCIETY OF THE SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.—
"Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War whose graves are designated by markers."

MASSACHUSETTS STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.—Publications of the Board, as issued.

METROPOLITAN WATER BOARD.—The Sixth Annual Report.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

MUSEO NACIONAL DE MÉXICO.—Publications of the Museum, as issued.

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION.—Two pamphlets.

NEWARK FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Twelfth Annual Report.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

NEW YORK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.

NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY.—Four books; and sixteen pamphlets.

NUMISMATIC AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF MONTREAL.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

OLD RESIDENTS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, Lowell.—"Contributions" of the Association, Vol. 6, No. 3.

OLD SOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—A parcel of their publications.

OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

PARK COLLEGE.—Publications of the College, as issued.

PEABODY INSTITUTE, Baltimore, Md.—The Thirty-fourth Annual Report.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.—Publications of the University, as issued.

REFORM CLUB, New York.—"Sound Currency," as issued.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

RHODE ISLAND STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.—The Twenty-first Annual Report.

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY, London, Eng.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

SALEM PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.—Publications of the Institution, as issued.

SOCIÉTÉ D'ARCHÉOLOGIE DE BRUXELLES.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

SOCIÉTÉ DE GÉOGRAPHIE DE PARIS.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

SOCIÉTÉ NATIONALE DES ANTIQUAIRES DE FRANCE.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

SOCIETY OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.—Proceedings at the Thirty-second Annual Reunion, 1901.

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.—Publications of the Association, as issued.

TRANS ALLEGHENY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

TRAVELER'S INSURANCE COMPANY.—"The Traveler's Record," as issued.

UNITED STATES BOARD ON GEOGRAPHIC NAMES.—Second Report of the Board.

UNITED STATES BUREAU OF EDUCATION.—Reports of the Bureau, as issued.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.—Six Department publications.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.—The Official Gazette of the Patent Office, as issued.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE.—One pamphlet.

UNITED STATES SUPERINTENDENT OF DOCUMENTS.—One hundred and sixty-two books; and ninety pamphlets.

UNIVERSIDAD DE LA PLATA.—Publications of the University, as issued.

UNIVERSITÉ DE TOULOUSE.—The Bulletin, as issued; and seven educational pamphlets.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.—Publications of the University, as issued.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.—One book; and one pamphlet.

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UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI.—Publications of the University, as issued.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—Publications of the University, as issued.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO.—Publications of the University, as issued.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.—University publications, as issued.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY.—Publications of the University, as issued.

WEST VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

WOMEN'S CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF OTTAWA.—Transactions of the Society, Vol. 1.

WORCESTER ART MUSEUM.—The Report of 1901.

WORCESTER BOARD OF HEALTH.—Publications of the Board, as issued.

WORCESTER BOARD OF TRADE.—"The Worcester Magazine," as issued

WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION.—Seventy-eight pamphlets; and twenty-one files of newspapers, in continuation.

WORCESTER COUNTY MUSICAL ASSOCIATION.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Fifty-four pamphlets; and ninety-five files of newspapers, in continuation.

WORCESTER POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE CLASS OF 1901.—"The Aftermath," 1901.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

YALE UNIVERSITY.—Report of the President, 1900-1901.

REMINISCENCES OF JOHN FISKE.¹

BY SAMUEL SWETT GREEN.

MANY years ago, when sitting at the graduates' table of a well known boarding-house in Cambridge, I used to hear much talk about a promising young man who sat at the undergraduates' table in another room, who was a devoted student and at that time absorbed in the study of mythology. Persons having rooms in the house were witnesses on the piazza, in the evening, of an interchange of expressions of tender interest between that undergraduate, John Fiske, and a charming young lady who had come to Cambridge on a visit and sat at the graduates' table. That interest ripened into something deeper, and before long two happy souls were united in marriage.

In later life I became somewhat intimate with Mr. Fiske.

¹ Among articles regarding Mr. Fiske and his work which have come under my notice, the following are especially worthy of attention:

As giving estimates of him as an historian, the remarks of James Schouler, in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, October, 1901; Albert Bushnell Hart in a portion of a paper entitled, *American School of Historians*, in the *International Monthly*, Vol. 2, pp. 294-322, and at length in a paper, since Mr. Fiske's death, in the same periodical, October, 1901, pp. 558-566, entitled, *The Historical Service of John Fiske*; Lyman Abbott, in an article entitled, *John Fiske's Histories*, in *The Outlook* for Nov. 16, 1901, p. 709.

As giving an estimate of the position of Mr. Fiske as a psychologist and philosopher, John Fiske as a Thinker, by Josiah Royce, in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, for July 13, 1901. This article, in a revised form, appeared as a paper in the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, September, 1901, pp. 23-33.

As of especial interest, John Fiske, by William D. Howells, in *Harper's Weekly*, July 20, 1901, p. 732; John Fiske, Popularizer, in the *New York Nation*, July 11, 1901, pp. 26, 27.

For sketches of Mr. Fiske's life, one by William Roscoe Thayer, in the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, Sept., 1901, pp. 33-38; *The Critic*, Vol. 26 (Jan.-June, 1896), an article entitled, *A Well-Equipped Historian* (a copy of a leaflet sent out on request by Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.); *The Bookman*, article entitled, *Some Fiske Anecdotes*, Sept., 1901, pp. 10, 11; *American Monthly Review of Reviews*, Vol. 24, pp. 175-178 (giving portraits of Mr. Fiske at the ages of 8 and 25 years), an article by John Graham Brooks.

For additional matter of interest, *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 88, pp. 282-284; *The Critic*, Vol. 30, pp. 117, 118; John Fiske by George L. Beer; the *Cambridge Tribune*, Aug. 3, 1901, John Fiske's Library.

He often came to Worcester, and when there was always, I believe, the guest of my brother and myself. In speaking of him, I hope not to repeat anything that has been said in print regarding him. After making one or two disconnected remarks respecting him, I wish to say a few words about a feature in the order of his studies, and glance at one of his mental traits.

Mr. Fiske's writings will always give a great deal of trouble to librarians. He was intensely interested in current events, and often alluded to them or used them in the way of illustrations. Our accomplished State librarian, Mr. C. B. Tillinghast, tells me that he spent many hours in finding out what Mr. Fiske referred to as the Texas Seed Bill.

In several of the sketches of Mr. Fiske which have appeared since his death, especial mention is made of his sweetness of disposition, geniality of manner and modesty in demeanor. I was particularly struck by his patience. When I first knew him he was tall and slender, but, as all know, he had, in later years, to carry about a ponderous weight of flesh. I have seen him as he tried to climb a hill, and walked by his side as he went up stairs, but, annoying as it was for him to do these things and difficult though it was for him to breathe, I never heard him utter a word of complaint.

I said to him once: "It is hard for you to go up stairs." He answered pleasantly, "The doctor says that no vital organ is affected, and the trouble is only that the diaphragm is too near the breathing apparatus."

Mr. Fiske's patience showed itself noticeably in conversation. The words which he used in regard to his intimate friend (my friend, too), Chauncey Wright, are applicable to him. In speaking of Mr. Wright's absolute freedom from egotism, he says: "The patient deference with which he would answer the silly remarks of stupid or conceited people was as extraordinary as the untiring interest with

which he would seek to make things plain to the least cultivated intelligence. This kind of patient interest, joined with his sweetness of disposition and winning simplicity of manner, made him a great favorite with children."¹

A recent writer² states that in his opinion Mr. Fiske would never have entered the field of history if it had not been necessary for him to earn a living. A gentleman who has been constantly in close contact with him tells me that that is his belief also. On the other hand, Mr. Fiske told me, in answer to a question as to how it came about that he developed such an interest in the philosophy of Herbert Spencer, that he studied the philosophy of evolution in order that he might understand history. Whatever the fact may be, however, it is very evident that his profound and comprehensive knowledge of the principles of evolution and their applications in the fields of natural history, the science of man, sociology and other divisions of knowledge, greatly enriched his historical work.

It has been truly said of Hume and Robertson that in their historical writings they have given us only "graceful summaries of superficial knowledge."³ This never can be said of Mr. Fiske.

Our late associate, Justin Winsor, told me that when Mr. Fiske became interested in some period of American history it was his custom to ask him to send to him the best books which treated debated questions from different points of view. Mr. Fiske certainly reproduced the contents of these and other works in a clear and very charming narrative. His judgments regarding matters in controversy were also very sensible. This was not all, however. He had besides a remarkable insight into the connection between events. While not predominantly a historian of

¹ Darwinism and other essays (1885), p. 106.

² George L. Beer, *The Critic*, Vol. 38, p. 118.

³ See Leslie Stephen's *English Thought in the 19th Century*, V. 1, p. 378.

the "great forces of history" he always had in mind "the continuity" of the events which gives to our history "a real unity." Although preëminent in the exposition of military and political events, in everything which he wrote about American history, he had a consciousness of the idea of development and of the principles which underlie the movements of events and the growth of institutions in our country.

I should not for a moment think of comparing Mr. Fiske with the great historian Gibbon in respect to capacity for research or the habit of making use of primitive sources of information, but in regard to the quality of which I am speaking he was the superior of Gibbon.

I agree with our distinguished associate, Leslie Stephen, that the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* is a "monumental work, not yet, if it ever will be, superseded.

. . . . Whatever its faults," it "remains as the first great triumph of a genuine historical method."¹ I also agree with Mr. Stephen when he says that while Gibbon gives us "an admirable summary of the bare facts of history . . . he is everywhere conspicuously deficient in that sympathetic power which enables an imaginative writer to breathe life into the dead bones of the past." He is "a skilful anatomical demonstrator of the dead framework of society," but "an utterly incompetent observer of its living development."²

Mr. Howells, in some charming reminiscences³ which he printed soon after Mr. Fiske's death, speaks of him as a philosopher; he seems, however, to hesitate to call him a prophet.

To my mind he was preëminently a prophet, using that word in the sense in which it is used by Jeremy Taylor in his powerful discourse on *Prophecy*, or preaching.

¹ *English Thought, etc.*, Vol. 1, p. 446.

² *Ibid.*, p. 447.

³ *Harper's Weekly*, July 20, 1901, p. 732.

He was religious in boyhood, he certainly was a man of faith in later life. One who knew him well tells me that there was a period in middle life when his trust in intuitions was somewhat feeble, although it returned to him later. This, it seems to me, is the impression which the reader gets from some of Mr. Fiske's earlier essays. Whether correct or not, it is evident that he was a firm believer in the latter portion of his life. It was during his later years that I became best acquainted with him, and then he trusted largely to feeling in forming convictions.

Professor Royce,¹ it seems to me, has given an admirable analysis of his philosophical position. He has stated it himself in the introduction to his volume of essays, "Through Nature to God." In speaking of conversations which he had with Huxley in his earlier years, he says that he was conscious that while they generally agreed in their ways of looking at things, there was a difference. He himself, he says, valued, as Huxley did not, a source of information to which Tennyson refers in the lines :

" Who forged that other influence,
That heat of inward evidence,
By which he doubts against the sense ? " ²

Mr. Fiske was always so genial and serene and so oblivious of the burdens and sorrows which a large portion of mankind feel so keenly, that I cannot think of him otherwise than as a man of faith.

I take pleasure in remembering that Mr. Fiske told me that it was in consequence of a profound talk upon the subject of immortality which we had in my brother's parlor, that he selected that topic for a lecture which he had agreed soon to give before a society of ladies in Boston. The address was afterwards printed as the first of his little publications on religious philosophy, and is known as the *Destiny of Man*.

¹ *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, Sept., 1901.

² *Through Nature to God* [1889], p. vii.

I remember hearing Mr. Fiske deliver as a sermon in the pulpit of a church in New Bedford, on a Sunday morning, during the summer vacation of its pastor, a portion of the first of the essays in *Through Nature to God*. He liked to do this kind of thing, and on several occasions appeared in pulpits on Sunday.

I am far from thinking that Mr. Fiske has said the final word in religious philosophy. After men have learned all that science has to teach on this subject they turn to a border-land of knowledge, and find a source of information in faculties which belong to the mind at its existing stage of development, as the result of human evolution. In treading upon this field we stand on dangerous ground. While from the intuitions of the race we get glimpses of truth, the truth obtained from this source is mingled with a great deal of error.

It is the opinion of the best thinkers, I believe, that Mr. Fiske relied more confidently upon the deliverances of "common sense," or the "practical reason," than he was justified in doing in the present state of knowledge.

Still I must remember that his clear and devout expositions of religious philosophy have afforded great solace and support to the great body of the more thoughtful persons who still find a congenial home within the borders of the more advanced branches of the Christian Church. For one I heartily rejoice that this is so.

Mr. Fiske told me that he desired very much to write a life of Jesus. He said the same thing to the late Mrs. Martha Le Baron Goddard. I wish he had done so; it would, I am sure, have been a glorious work.

In 1870 Mr. Fiske printed in the curious little book which I hold in my hand called *The Modern Thinker* two essays entitled, *The Jesus of History* and *The Christ of Dogma*. These essays were afterwards reprinted in a well known volume entitled, *The Unseen World and Other Essays*.

In a note to the first of them in that volume he says that he intends to write a "work on 'Jesus of Nazareth and the Founding of Christianity,'" of which these essays "must be regarded as furnishing only a few introductory hints."¹

I read these papers carefully when they first appeared. I have read them again recently. They embody, in the main, the results of the researches of the great German scholar, Ferdinand Christian Baur and those of the celebrated David Friedrich Strauss, as they appear in his "New Life of Jesus." Modifications of the teachings of these great scholars would have to be entertained today. It is very noticeable, however, that they still have a powerful influence in shaping the conclusions of the best writers and scholars today.

It is interesting to see, for example, how widespread is the adoption and constant use of Baur's fundamental "*Tendenz Theory*." But much has been added, since his time, to our knowledge of the dates of the New Testament books and the relative order in which they were written. With what joyous enthusiasm Mr. Fiske would have absorbed this additional knowledge and brought his information up to date!

To turn again to Gibbon, I presume that we all believe that the arguments in his two celebrated chapters on the rise of Christianity are conclusive as against the proofs of supernaturalism as stated by Paley and writers of his school. But he seems to have been wholly incapable of fathoming the real causes that led to the acceptableness of Christianity in the heathen world. That cold man, without enthusiasm, lacking in imagination, with only the dimmest consciousness of the part played by development in the movements of history, could not realize the attitude of the people in the Roman Empire as, having lost their gods, they stood "groaning and travailing in spirit, waiting for the revealing of the Sons of God"; nor could he

¹ Edition of 1899, p. 66.

appreciate the power which lay in the life of Jesus and in the simple but deep teachings of the gospels, when stripped of the *impedimenta* of the law by Paul and formulated in the terms of the Greek philosophy prevalent in the civilized world; he could not appreciate, I say, the power of these truths, when embodied as they were in the life of early Christian brotherhoods, to give needed comfort and support to the longing and hungry souls of the heathen world.

Had Mr. Fiske written a life of Jesus it would have had the picturesqueness and interest of the remarkable *Vie de Jésus* of Ernest Renan and, without the blemish of his sentimentality, would have represented a much higher standard of scholarship.

In writing of the sad death of Buckle at Damascus Mr. Fiske says, "as a fresh instance . . . of how the world passes away from us while yet we are stammering over the alphabet of its mysteries, there is something infinitely pathetic in the cry which went up from the exhausted and fever-stricken traveller: 'My book, my book! I never shall finish my book!'"¹

Mr. Fiske, also, left his history unfinished. Had he been conscious that he was near his end when he died, he, too, would have had regrets on that account, but whatever sorrow he might have felt, I am sure that he would have passed away in the cheerful serenity which marked his life.

¹ *Darwinism and Other Essays* (1896), pp. 211, 212.

THE CONFEDERACY AND THE TRANSVAAL.

BY CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

THE present seems a sufficiently proper occasion, and this a not inappropriate place, to call attention to a matter sufficiently germane to the purpose of this Society, though hardly as yet antiquarian. Historical in its character, it conveys a lesson of grave present import.

One of the most unhappy, and, to those concerned in it, disastrous wars since the fall of Napoleon, is, in South Africa, now working itself to a close apparently still remote, and in every way unsatisfactory. There is reason to think that the conflict was unnecessary in its inception; that by timely and judicious action it might long since have been brought to a close; and that it now continues simply because the parties to it cannot be brought together to discuss and arrive at a sensible basis of adjustment,—a basis upon which both in reality would be not unwilling to agree. Nevertheless, as the cable dispatches daily show, the contest drags wearily along, to the probable destruction of one of the combatants, to the great loss of the other, and, so far as can be seen, in utter disregard of the best interests of both.

My immediate purpose, however, is to draw attention to the hair-breadth escape we ourselves had from a similar experience, now thirty-six years ago, and to assign to whom it belongs the credit for that escape. In one word, in the strong light of passing events, I think it now opportune to set forth the debt of gratitude this reunited country of ours—Union and Confederate, North and South—owes to Robert E. Lee, of Virginia.

Most of those here—for this is not a body of young men—remember the state of affairs which existed in the

United States, especially in what was then known as the Confederate States, or the rebellious portion of the United States, in April, 1865. Such as are not yet as mature as that memory implies, have read and heard thereof. It was in every respect almost the identical state of affairs which existed in South Africa at the time of the capture of Pretoria by General Roberts, in June a year ago.

On the 2d of April, 1865, the Confederate army found itself compelled to abandon the lines in front of Petersburg; and the same day—a very famous Sabbath—Jefferson Davis, hastily called from the church services he was attending, left Richmond to find, if he might, a new seat of government, at Danville. The following morning our forces at last entered the rebel capital. This was on a Monday; and, two days later, the Confederate President issued from Danville his manifesto, declaring to the people of the South that "We have now entered upon a new phase of the struggle. Relieved from the necessity of guarding particular points, our army will be free to move from point to point, to strike the enemy in detail far from his base. If, by the stress of numbers, we should be compelled to a temporary withdrawal from her limits [Virginia], or those of any other border State, we will return until the baffled and exhausted enemy shall abandon in despair his endless and impossible task of making slaves of a people resolved to be free." The policy and line of military action herein indicated were precisely those laid down and pursued by the Boer leaders during the last sixteen months.

It is unnecessary for me even to refer to the series of events which followed our occupation of Richmond, and preceded the surrender of Appomattox. It is sufficient to say that on the Friday which followed the momentous Sunday, the capitulation of the Army of Northern Virginia had become inevitable. Not the less for that, the course thereafter to be pursued as concerned further resistance on the part of the Confederacy was still to be decided. As

his Danville proclamation showed, Jefferson Davis, though face to face with grave disaster, had not for an instant given up the thought of continuing the struggle. To do so was certainly practicable,—far more practicable than now in South Africa, both as respects forces in the field and the area of country to be covered by the invader. Foreign opinion, for instance, was on this point settled; it was in Europe assumed as a certainty of the future that the conquest of the Confederacy was "impossible." The English journals had always maintained, and still did maintain, that the defeat of Lee in the field, or even the surrender of all the Confederate armies, would be but the close of one phase of the war and the opening of another,—the final phase being a long, fruitless effort to subdue a people, at once united and resolved, occupying a region so vast that it would be impossible to penetrate every portion of it, much less to hold it in peaceful subjection. As an historical fact, on this point the scales, on the 9th of April, 1865, hung wavering in the balance; a mere turn of the hand would decide which way they were to incline. Thus, on the morning of that momentous day, it was an absolutely open question, an even chance, whether the course which subsequently was pursued should be pursued, or whether the leaders of the Confederacy would adopt the policy which President Kruger and Generals Botha and De Wet have in South Africa more recently adopted, and are now pursuing.

The decision rested in the hands of one man, the commander of the Army of Northern Virginia. Fairly reliable and very graphic accounts of interviews with General Lee during those trying days and in the morning hours of April 9th have either appeared in print or been told in conversation, and to two of these accounts I propose to call attention. The first I find in a book entitled "The End of an Era," recently published by John Sargent Wise, a son of Henry A. Wise, once prominent in our national politics. Though in 1865 but a youth of nineteen, John

S. Wise was a hot Confederate, and had already been wounded in battle. At the time now in question he chanced, according to his own account, to have been sent by Jefferson Davis, then on his way to Danville, with despatches to Lee. At length, after many hairbreadth escapes from capture, he reached the Confederate headquarters late in the night following the disastrous battle of Sailor's Creek. By it the line of march of the Confederate army towards Danville had been intercepted, and it had been forced to seek a more circuitous route in the direction of Lynchburg. "It was past midnight," writes Mr. Wise, "when I found General Lee. He was in an open field north of Rice's Station and east of the High Bridge. A camp-fire of fence rails was burning low. Colonel Charles Marshall sat in an ambulance with a lantern and a lap-desk. He was preparing orders at the dictation of General Lee, who stood near, with one hand resting on a wheel and one foot upon the end of a log, watching intently the dying embers, as he spoke in a low tone to his amanuensis."

Explaining his mission to the Confederate leader, Mr. Wise passed the remaining hours of the night in bivouac near by; and early in the morning, the headquarters having moved, he again set out on his quest. It was now Friday, the 7th. He had not gone far when he stumbled across his father, in bivouac with his brigade. Henry A. Wise was then nearly sixty years of age, but the son found him wrapped in a blanket, stretched on the ground like a common soldier, and asleep among his men. Essentially a Virginian, and in many respects typically a Southerner and "fire-eater," Henry A. Wise was governor at the time of the John Brown Harper's Ferry raid, in October, 1859, his term expiring shortly after Brown's execution. A member of the Virginia Convention which, immediately after the fall of Sumter, passed the ordinance of secession, Wise, though an extreme States-rights man, had been in favor of "fighting it out in the Union," as the phrase then

went; but when Virginia became plainly bent on secession, he unhesitatingly "went with his State." Commissioned as a brigadier-general almost at once, he had served in the Confederate army throughout the war, and was in the thick of the fight at Sailor's Creek. Now on the morning after that engagement, aroused from an uneasy sleep by the unexpected appearance of his son, almost the first wish he expressed was to see General Lee, and he asked impetuously of his whereabouts. The two started together to go to him. John S. Wise has described vividly the aspect of affairs as they passed along: "The roads and fields were filled with stragglers. They moved looking behind them, as if they expected to be attacked and harried by a pursuing foe. Demoralization, panic, abandonment of all hope, appeared on every hand. Wagons were rolling along without any order or system. Caissons and limber-chests, without commanding officers, seemed to be floating by aimlessly upon a tide of disorganization. Rising to his full height, casting a glance around him like that of an eagle, and sweeping the horizon with his long arm and bony forefinger, my father exclaimed: 'This is the end!' It is impossible to convey an idea of the agony and the bitterness of his words and gestures." Then follows this description of the interview which ensued:—

"We found General Lee on the rear portico of the house that I have mentioned. He had washed his face in a tin basin, and stood drying his beard with a coarse towel as we approached. 'General Lee,' exclaimed my father, 'my poor, brave men are lying on yonder hill more dead than alive. For more than a week they have been fighting day and night, without food, and, by God, sir, they shall not move another step until somebody gives them something to eat!'

"'Come in, general,' said General Lee soothingly. 'They deserve something to eat, and shall have it; and

meanwhile you shall share my breakfast.' He disarmed everything like defiance by his kindness.

"It was but a few moments, however, before my father launched forth in a fresh denunciation of the conduct of General Bushrod Johnson¹ in the engagement of the sixth. I am satisfied that General Lee felt as he did; but, assuming an air of mock severity, he said, 'General, are you aware that you are liable to court-martial and execution for insubordination and disrespect toward your commanding officer?'

"My father looked at him with lifted eyebrows and flashing eyes, and exclaimed: 'Shot! you can't afford to shoot the men who fight for cursing those who run away. Shot! I wish you would shoot me. If you don't, some Yankee probably will within the next twenty-four hours.'

"Growing more serious, General Lee inquired what he thought of the situation.

"'Situation?' said the bold old man. 'There is no situation! Nothing remains, General Lee, but to put your poor men on your poor mules and send them home in time for spring ploughing. This army is hopelessly whipped, and is fast becoming demoralized. These men have already endured more than I believed flesh and blood could stand, and I say to you, sir, emphatically, that to prolong the struggle is murder, and the blood of every man who is killed from this time forth is on your head, General Lee.'

"This last expression seemed to cause General Lee great pain. With a gesture of remonstrance, and even of impatience, he protested: 'Oh, general, do not talk so wildly. My burdens are heavy enough. What would the country think of me, if I did what you suggest?'

"'Country be d——d!' was the quick reply. 'There is no country. There has been no country, general, for a year or more. You are the country to these men. They

¹ Elsewhere in his book (pp. 358, 359), and in another connection, J. S. Wise is equally severe in his characterization of Bushrod Johnson.

have fought for you. They have shivered through a long winter for you. Without pay or clothes, or care of any sort, their devotion to you and faith in you have been the only things which have held this army together. If you demand the sacrifice, there are still left thousands of us who will die for you. You know the game is desperate beyond redemption, and that, if you so announce, no man or government or people will gainsay your decision. That is why I repeat that the blood of any man killed hereafter is upon your head.'

"General Lee stood for some time at an open window, looking out at the throng now surging upon the roads and in the fields, and made no response."¹

It will be remembered that John Sargent Wise was individually present at this conversation, a youth of nineteen. I have as little respect as any one well can have for the recollection of thirty years since as a basis of history. Nevertheless, it would seem quite out of the question that a youth of only nineteen could have been present at such a scene as is here described, and that the words which then passed, and the incidents which occurred, should not have been indelibly imprinted upon his memory. I am disposed, therefore, to consider this reliable historical material. Meanwhile, it so chances that I am able to supplement it by similar testimony from another quarter.

Some years ago I was, for a considerable period, closely associated with General E. P. Alexander, who in its time, had been chief of Artillery in Longstreet's famous corps; and it was General Alexander who, on the morning of July 3, 1863, opened on the Union line at Gettysburg what Hancock described as "a most terrific and appalling cannonade," intended to prepare the way for the advance of Pickett's division. In April, 1865, General Alexander was, if my recollection serves me right, in command of the artillery of the Army of Northern Virginia. General

¹ "The End of an Era," pp. 433-436.

Alexander's memory I found always singularly tenacious as well as accurate, and he delighted in reminiscence of the great war; so he many times repeated to me, or to others in my hearing, the details of interviews with Lee during the retreat from Petersburg, and more especially of one, on the morning of April 9th. Of what he said I have since retained a vivid memory. During Friday, April 7th, the day Wise found his way to Lee's headquarters, the weary Confederate army pressed forward, vainly trying to elude the hot pursuit of the Union advance, led by Sheridan. On Saturday, the 8th, according to General Alexander, the leading Confederate officers became so demoralized that one of them, General Pendleton, was authorized by a sort of informal council to wait on Lee, and to tell him that, a surrender seeming inevitable, they were prepared to take the responsibility of advising it. Recognizing his military obligations, and not yet convinced that his command was hopelessly involved, Lee distinctly resented the advice. He told General Pendleton that there were too many men yet remaining in the ranks to think of laying down arms, and his air and manner conveyed a rebuke.

Twenty-four additional hours of fasting, marching, and fighting put a new face on the situation. Two days before, on the 7th, shortly after the Wise interview, General Alexander had met Lee at Farmville, and a consultation over the maps took place. Alexander had then pointed out Appomattox as "the danger point," the roads to Lynchburg there intersecting, and the enemy having the shortest line. Sheridan did not lose his advantage, and, on Saturday, the 9th of April, Lee found his further progress blocked. That morning General Alexander again met Lee. Both realized the situation fully. Moreover, as chief of artillery, Alexander was well aware that the limber-chests were running low; his arm of the service was in no condition to go into another engagement. Yet the idea of an abandonment

of the cause had never occurred to him as among the probabilities. All night he had lain awake, thinking as to what was next to be done. Finally he had come to the conclusion that there was but one course to pursue. The Confederate army, while nominally capitulating, must in reality disperse, and those composing it should be instructed, whether individually or as part of detachments, to get each man to his own State in the most direct way and shortest possible time, and report to the governor thereof, with a view to a further and continuous resistance.

Thus, exactly what is now taking place in South Africa was to take place in the Confederacy. General Alexander told me that, as he passed his batteries on his way to headquarters, the men called out to him in cheery tones, that there were still some rounds remaining in the caissons, and that they were ready to renew the fight. He found Lee seated on the trunk of a fallen tree before a dying campfire. He was dressed in uniform, and invited Alexander to take a seat beside him. He then asked his opinion of the situation, and of the course proper to be pursued. Full of the idea which dominated his mind, Alexander proceeded at once to propound his plan, for it seemed to him the only plan worthy of consideration. As he went on, General Lee, looking steadily into the fire with an abstracted air, listened patiently. Alexander said his full say. A brief pause ensued, which Lee finally broke in somewhat these words: "No! General Alexander, that will not do. You must remember we are a Christian people. We have fought this fight as long as, and as well as, we knew how. We have been defeated. For us, as a Christian people, there is now but one course to pursue. We must accept the situation; these men must go home and plant a crop; and we must proceed to build up our country on a new basis. We cannot have recourse to the methods you suggest." I remember being deeply impressed with Alexander's comment, as he repeated these words of Lee.

They had evidently burned themselves into his memory. He said: "I had nothing more to say. I felt that the man had soared way up above me,—he dominated me completely. I rose from beside him; silently mounted my horse; rode back to my command; and waited for the order to surrender."

Then and there, Lee decided its course for the Confederacy. And I take it there is not one solitary man in the United States today, North or South, who does not feel that he decided right.

The Army of Northern Virginia, it will be remembered, laid down its arms on the 9th of April. But General Joseph Johnston was in command of another Confederate army then confronting Sherman, in North Carolina, and it was still an open question what course he would pursue. His force numbered over 40,000 combatants; more than the entire muster of the Boers in their best estate. Lee's course decided Johnston's. S. R. Mallory, who was present on the occasion, has left a striking account of a species of council held at Greensboro, North Carolina, on the evening of the 10th of April, by Jefferson Davis and the members of his cabinet, with General Johnston. Davis, stubborn in temper and bent on a policy of continuous irregular resistance, expressed the belief that the disasters recently sustained, though "terrible," should not be regarded as "fatal." "I think," he added, "we can whip the enemy yet, if our people will turn out." When he ceased speaking, a pause ensued. Davis at last said, "We should like to hear your views, General Johnston." Whereupon Johnston, without preface or introduction, and with a tone and manner almost spiteful, remarked in his terse, concise, demonstrative way, as if seeking to condense thoughts that were crowding for utterance: "My views are, sir, that our people are tired of the war, feel themselves whipped, and will not fight."¹

¹ Alfried's "Life of Jefferson Davis," pp. 622-626.

We all know what followed. Lee's great military prestige and moral ascendancy made it easy for some of the remaining Confederate commanders—like Johnston—to follow the precedent he set; while others of them—like Kirby Smith—found it imposed upon them. A firm direction had been given to the course of events; an intelligible policy was indicated. I have in my possession a copy of the *Index*, the weekly journal published in London during our Civil War. The official organ of the Confederate agents in Europe, it was intended for the better enlightenment of foreign opinion, more especially the English press. The surrender of Lee was commented upon editorially in the issue of that paper for April 27th. "The war is far from concluded," it declared. "A strenuous resistance and not surrender was the unalterable determination of the Confederate authorities . . . and if the worst comes to the worst there is the trans-Mississippi department, where the remnant of [Johnston's] army can find a shelter, and a new and safe starting-point." On the 11th of May following, the surrender of Johnston's army was announced on the same terms as that of Lee; but, in summing up the situation, the *Index* still found "the elements of a successful or at least a protracted resistance." On the 25th of May, it had an article entitled "Southern Resistance in Texas," in which it announced that, "Such a war will be fierce, ferocious, and of long duration,"—in a word, such an expiring struggle as we are to-day witnessing in South Africa. In its issue of June 1st the *Index* commented on "The capture of President Davis"; and then, and not until then, forestalling the trans-Mississippi surrender of Kirby Smith, brought to it by the following mail, it raised the wailing cry, "*Fuit Ilum*. . . . The South has fallen."

Comparing the situation which then existed in the Confederacy with that now in South Africa, it must also be remembered that General Lee assumed the responsibility he did assume, and decided the policy to be pursued in the

way it was decided, under no ameliorating conditions. Politically, unconditional surrender was insisted upon; and Lee's surrender was, politically, unconditional. Even more so was Johnston's; for, in Johnston's case, the modifying terms of capitulation agreed on in the first place between him and Sherman were roughly disallowed at Washington, and the truce, by an order coming thence, abruptly terminated. Then Johnston did what Lee had already done; ignoring Davis, he surrendered his army.

In the case of the Confederacy, also, an absolutely unconditional political surrender implied much. The Emancipation Proclamation of January, 1863, which confiscated the most valuable chattel property of the Confederacy, remained the irreversible law of the land. The inhabitants of the South were, moreover, as one man disfranchised. When they laid down their arms they had before them, first, a military government, and after that, the supremacy of their former slaves. A harder fate for a proud people to accept could not well be imagined. The bitterness of feeling, the hatred, was, too, extreme. It may possibly be argued that the conditions in this country then were different from those now in South Africa, inasmuch as here it was a civil war, a conflict between communities of the same race and speech, involving the vital question of the supremacy of law. This argument, however, seems to imply that, in case of strife of this description, a general severity may fairly be resorted to in excess of that permissible between nations,—in other words, that we are justified in treating our brethren with greater harshness than we would treat aliens in blood and speech. Obviously, this is a questionable contention.

It might possibly also be claimed that the bitterness of civil war is not so insurmountable as that of one involving a question of race dominance. Yet it is difficult to conceive bitterness of greater intensity than existed between the sections at the close of our Civil War. There is striking

evidence of this in the book of Mr. Wise, from which I have already quoted. Toward its close he speaks of the death of Lincoln. He then adds the following:—

“Perhaps I ought to chronicle that the announcement was received with demonstrations of sorrow. If I did, I should be lying for sentiment’s sake. Among the higher officers and the most intelligent and conservative men, the assassination caused a shudder of horror at the heinousness of the act, and at the thought of its possible consequences; but among the thoughtless, the desperate, and the ignorant, it was hailed as a sort of retributive justice. In maturer years I have been ashamed of what I felt and said when I heard of that awful calamity. However, men ought to be judged for their feelings and their speech by the circumstances of their surroundings. For four years we had been fighting. In that struggle, all we loved had been lost. Lincoln incarnated to us the idea of oppression and conquest. We had seen his face over the coffins of our brothers and relatives and friends, in the flames of Richmond, in the disaster at Appomattox. In blood and flame and torture the temples of our lives were tumbling about our heads. We were desperate and vindictive, and whosoever denies it forgets or is false. We greeted his death in a spirit of reckless hate, and hailed it as bringing agony and bitterness to those who were the cause of our own agony and bitterness. To us, Lincoln was an inhuman monster, Grant a butcher, and Sherman a fiend.”

Indeed, recalling the circumstances of that time, it is fairly appalling to consider what in 1865 must have occurred, had Robert E. Lee then been of the same turn of mind as was Jefferson Davis, or as implacable and unyielding in disposition as Kruger or Botha have more recently proved. The national government had in arms a million men, inured to the hardships and accustomed to the brutalities of war; Lincoln had been freshly assassi-

nated; the temper of the North was thoroughly aroused, while its patience was exhausted. An irregular warfare would inevitably have resulted, a warfare without quarter. The Confederacy would have been reduced to a smouldering wilderness,—to what South Africa today is. In such a death grapple, the North, both in morale and in means, would have suffered only less than the South. From both sections that fate was averted.

It is not my purpose to enter into any criticism of the course of events in South Africa, or of the policy there on either side pursued. It will be for the future to decide whether the prolonged, irregular resistance we are witnessing is justifiable, or, if justifiable, whether it is wise. Neither of these questions do I propose to discuss. My purpose simply is to call attention, in view of what is now taking place elsewhere, to the narrow escape we ourselves, thirty-six years ago, had from a similar awful catastrophe. And I again say that, as we look to-day upon Kruger and Botha and De Wet, and the situation existing in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, I doubt if one single man in the United States, North or South,—whether he participated in the Civil War or was born since that war ended,—would fail to acknowledge an infinite debt of gratitude to the Confederate leader, who, on the 9th of April, 1865, decided, as he did decide, that the United States, whether Confederate or Union, was a Christian community, and that his duty was to accept the responsibility which the fate of war had imposed upon him,—to decide in favor of a new national life, even if slowly and painfully to be built up by his own people under conditions arbitrarily and by force imposed on them.

In one of the Confederate accounts of the great war¹ is to be found the following description of Lee's return to his Richmond home immediately after he had at Appomattox sealed the fate of the Confederacy. With it I will

¹ De Leon, "Four Years in Rebel Capitals," p. 367.

conclude this paper. On the afternoon of the previous day, the first of those paroled from the surrendered Army of Northern Virginia had straggled back to Richmond. The writer thus goes on: "Next morning a small group of horsemen appeared on the further side of the pontoons. By some strange intuition it was known that General Lee was among them, and a crowd collected all along the route he would take, silent and bareheaded. There was no excitement, no hurrahing; but as the great chief passed, a deep, loving murmur, greater than these, rose from the very hearts of the crowd. Taking off his hat, and simply bowing his head, the man great in adversity passed silently to his own door; it closed upon him, and his people had seen him for the last time in his battle harness."

After preparing the foregoing paper, I wrote to General Alexander asking him to verify my recollection of the account of what passed at his meeting with General Lee, at Appomattox. His reply did not reach me in time for the meeting of the American Antiquarian Society, at which the paper was read. In his answer to my letter he wrote in part as follows: "I am greatly interested in what you wish, having often thought and spoken of the contrast between Lee's views of the duty of the leaders of a people, and those held at the time by President Davis, and now held by Kruger and the Boer leaders; and I have written of it, too, in my own war recollections, which I am writing out for my children.

"*Essentially*, your recollections are entirely correct: though some of the details are not exact. Two days before I had talked with General Lee over his map, and noted Appomattox Court-house as the 'danger point.' When I came up on the 9th to where he had halted on the road, he called me to him, and began by referring to previous talk, and then he asked me, 'What shall we do

today?' For an account of our conversation I will cut out of a scrap-book two pages which contain a clipping from the *Philadelphia Press* of a letter I wrote twenty years ago."

The clipping referred to was from an issue of the *Press* of July, 1881. The narrative contained in it is, of course, now not easily accessible; but it is of such interest and obvious historical value, as throwing light on what was passing in Lee's mind at one of the most critical moments in the national history, that I here reproduce it in full:—

"The morning of the 9th of April, 1865, found the Confederate army in a position in which its inevitable fate was apparent to every man in it. The skirmishing which had begun in its front as its advance guard reached Appomattox Court-house the night before had developed into a sharp fight, in which the continuous firing of the artillery and the steady increase of the musketry told to all that a heavy force had been thrown across our line of march, and that reinforcements to it were steadily arriving. The long trains of wagons and artillery were at first halted in the road and then parked in the adjoining fields, allowing the rear of the column to close up and additional troops to pass to the front to reinforce the advanced guard and to form a reserve line of battle in their rear, under cover of which they might retire when necessary. While these dispositions were taking place, General Lee, who had dismounted and was standing near a fire on a hill about two miles from the Court-house, called the writer to him, and, inviting him to a seat on a log near by, referred to the situation and asked: 'What shall we do this morning?' Although this opportunity of expressing my views was unexpected, the situation itself was not, for two days before, while near Farmville, in a consultation with General Lee over his map, the fact of the enemy's having the shortest road to the Appomattox Court-house had been

noted and the probability of serious difficulty there anticipated, and in the mean time there had been ample opportunity for reflection on all of the emergencies that might arise. . Without replying directly to the question, however, I answered first that it was due to my command (of artillery) that I should tell him that they were in as good spirits, though short of ammunition and with poor teams, as they had ever been, and had begged, if it came to a surrender, to be allowed to expend first every round of ammunition on the enemy and surrender only the empty ammunition chests. To this General Lee replied that there were remaining only two divisions of infantry sufficiently well organized and strong to be fully relied upon (Field's and Mahone's), and that they did not number eight thousand muskets together ; and that that force was not sufficient to warrant him in undertaking a pitched battle. 'Then,' I answered, 'general, there are but two alternatives, to surrender or to order the army to abandon its trains and disperse in the woods and bushes, every man for himself, and each to make his best way, with his arms, either to the army of General Johnston, in North Carolina, or home to the governor of his State. We have all foreseen the probability of such an alternative for two days, and I am sure I speak the sentiments of many others besides my own in urging that rather than surrender the army you should allow us to disperse in the woods and go, every man for himself.'

" 'What would you hope to accomplish by this?'

" I answered : 'If there is any hope at all for the Confederacy or for the separate States to make terms with the United States or for any foreign assistance, this course stands the chances, whatever they may be ; while if this army surrenders this morning, the Confederacy is dead from that moment. Grant will turn 150,000 fresh men against Johnston, and with the moral effect of our surrender he will go, and Dick Taylor and Kirby Smith will

have to follow like a row of bricks, while if we all take to dispersing in the woods, we inaugurate a new phase of the war, which may be indefinitely prolonged, and it will at least have great moral effect in showing that in our pledges to fight it out to the last we meant what we said. And even, general, if there is no hope at all in this course or in any other, and if the fate of the Confederacy is sealed whatever we do, there is one other consideration which your soldiers have a right to urge on you, and that is your own military reputation, in which every man in this army, officer or private, feels the utmost personal pride and has a personal property that his children will prize after him. The Yankees brought Grant here from the West, after the failure of all their other generals, as one who had whipped everybody he had ever fought against, and they call him "Unconditional Surrender" Grant, and have been bragging in advance that you would have to surrender too. Now, general, I think you ought to spare us all the mortification of having you to ask Grant for terms, and have him answer that he had no terms to offer you.'

"I still remember most vividly the emotions with which I made this appeal, increasing as I went on, until my whole heart was in it; and it seemed to me at the moment one which no soldier could resist and against which no consideration whatever could be urged; and when I closed, after urging my suggestions at greater length than it is necessary to repeat, looking him in the face and speaking with more boldness than I usually found in his presence, I had not a doubt that he must adopt some such course as I had urged.

"He heard me entirely through, however, very calmly, and then asked: 'How many men do you estimate would escape if I were to order the army to disperse?'

"I replied: 'I suppose two thirds of us could get away, for the enemy could not disperse to follow us through the woods.'

"He said: 'We have here only about sixteen thousand

men with arms, and not all of those who could get away would join General Johnston, but most of them would try and make their way to their homes and families, and their numbers would be too small to be of any material service either to General Johnston or to the governors of the States. I recognize fully that the surrender of this army is the end of the Confederacy, but no course we can take can prevent or even delay that result. I have never believed that we would receive foreign assistance or get our liberty otherwise than by our own arms. The end is now upon us, and it only remains to decide how we shall close the struggle. But in deciding this question we are to approach it not only as soldiers but as Christian men, deciding on matters which involve a great deal else besides their own feelings. If I should order this army to disperse, the men with their arms, but without organization or control, and without provisions or money, would soon be wandering through every State in the Confederacy, some seeking to get to their homes and some with no homes to go to. Many would be compelled to rob and plunder as they went to save themselves from starvation, and the enemy's cavalry would pursue in small detachments, particularly in efforts to catch the general officers, and raid and burn over large districts which they will otherwise never reach, and the result would be the inauguration of lawlessness and terror and of organized bands of robbers all over the South. Now, as Christian men, we have not the right to bring this state of affairs upon the country, whatever the sacrifice of personal pride involved. And as for myself, you young men might go to bushwhacking, but I am too old; and even if it were right for me to disperse the army, I should surrender myself to General Grant as the only proper course for one of my years and position. But I am glad to be able to tell you one thing for your comfort: General Grant will not demand an unconditional surrender, but offers us most liberal terms—the paroling of the whole

army not to fight until exchanged.' He then went on to speak of the probable details of the terms of surrender, and to say that about 10 A. M. he was to meet General Grant in the rear of the army and would then accept the terms offered.

"Sanguine as I had been when he commenced that 'he must acquiesce in my views,' I had not one word to reply when he had finished. He spoke slowly and deliberately and with some feeling; and the completeness of the considerations he advanced, and which he dwelt upon with more detail than I can now fully recall, speaking particularly of the women and children, as the greatest sufferers in the state of anarchy which a dispersion of the army would bring about, and his reference to what would be his personal course if he did order such dispersion, all indicated that the question was not then presented to his mind for the first time.

"A short time after this conversation General Lee rode to the rear of the army to meet General Grant and arrange the details of the surrender. He had started about a half hour when General Fitz Lee sent word to General Longstreet that he had broken through a portion of the enemy's line, and that the whole army might make its way through. General Longstreet, on learning this, directed Colonel Haskell of the artillery,¹ who was very finely mounted, to ride after General Lee at utmost speed, killing his horse, if necessary, and recall him before he could reach General Grant. Colonel Haskell rode as directed, and a short distance in rear of the army found General Lee and some of his staff dismounted by the roadside. As he with difficulty

¹ Colonel J. B. Haskell, of South Carolina; "a born and a resourceful artilleryman, [who] knew no such thing as fear." General Longstreet evidently used General Alexander's paper in the *Philadelphia Press* in preparing the account, contained in his "Manassas to Appomattox," of what occurred on the day of Lee's surrender. A further reference to Colonel Haskell may be found in Wise's "The End of an Era" (p. 360). Longstreet says that, at Appomattox, "there were 'surrendered or paroled' 28,356 officers and men." A week previous to the capitulation, Lee's and Johnston's combined forces numbered considerably over 100,000 combatants.

checked his horse, General Lee came up quickly, asking what was the matter, but, without waiting for a reply, said : 'Oh! I'm afraid you have killed your beautiful mare. What did you ride her so hard for?' On hearing General Longstreet's message, he asked some questions about the situation, and sent word to General Longstreet to use his own discretion in making any movements; but he did not himself return, and in a short while another message was received that the success of the cavalry under General Fitz Lee was but temporary, and that there was no such gap in the enemy's line as had been supposed. Soon afterward a message was brought from the enemy's picket that General Grant had passed around to the front and would meet General Lee at Appomattox Court-house, and General Lee accordingly returned.

"Meanwhile, as the Confederate line under General Gordon was slowly falling back from Appomattox Court-house after as gallant a fight against overwhelming odds as it had ever made, capturing and bringing safely off with it an entire battery of the enemy's, General Custer, commanding a division of Federal cavalry, rode forward with a flag of truce, and, the firing having ceased on both sides, was conducted to General Longstreet as commanding temporarily in General Lee's absence. Custer demanded the surrender of the army to himself and General Sheridan, to which General Longstreet replied that General Lee was in communication with General Grant upon that subject, and that the issue would be determined between them. Custer replied that he and Sheridan were independent of Grant, and unless the surrender was made to them they would 'pitch in' at once. Longstreet's answer was a peremptory order [to Custer] at once [to return] to his own lines, and 'try it if he liked.' Custer was accordingly escorted back, but fire was not reopened, and both lines remained halted, the Confederate about a half mile east of the Court-house.

"General Lee, returning from the rear shortly afterward, halted in a small field adjoining Sweeney's house, a little in rear of his skirmish line, and, seated on some rails under an apple-tree, awaited a message from General Grant. This apple-tree was not only entirely cut up for mementos within two days afterward, but its very roots were dug up and carried away under the false impression that the surrender took place under it.¹

"About noon a Federal staff officer rode up and announced that General Grant was at the Court-house, and General Lee with one of his staff accompanied him back. As he left the apple-tree General Longstreet's last words were: 'Unless he offers you liberal terms, general, let us fight it out.'

"It would be a difficult task to convey to one who was not present an idea of the feeling of the Confederate army during the few hours which so suddenly, and so unexpectedly to it, terminated its existence, and with it all hopes of the Confederacy. Having been sharply engaged that very morning, and its movements arrested by the flag of truce, while one portion of it was actually fighting and nearly all the rest, infantry and artillery, had just been formed in line of battle in sight and range of the enemy, and with guns unlimbered, it was impossible to realize fully that the war, with all its hopes, its ambitions, and its hardships, was thus ended. There was comparatively very little conversation, and men stood in groups looking over the scene; but the groups were unusually silent. It was not at first generally known that a surrender was inevitable, but there was a remarkable pre-acquiescence in whatever General Lee should determine, and the warmest expressions of confidence in his judgment. Ranks and discipline were main-

¹ The surrender took place in the house of a Mr. McLean, a gentleman who, by a strange coincidence, owned a farm on Bull Run at the beginning of the war. General Beauregard's headquarters were at McLean's house, just in the rear of Blackburn's fort, during the first battle fought by the army, July 18, 1861. McLean moved from Bull Run to get himself out of the theatre of war. The last battle took place on his new farm and the surrender in his new residence.

tained as usual, and there is little doubt that, had General Lee decided to fight that afternoon, the troops would not have disappointed him. About 4 P. M. he returned from the Court-house, and, after informing the principal officers of the terms of the surrender, started to ride back to his camp.

"The universal desire to express to him the unabated love and confidence of the army had led to the formation of the gunners of a few battalions of artillery along the roadside, with orders to take off their hats in silence as he rode by. When he approached, however, the men could not be restrained, but burst into the wildest cheering, which the adjacent infantry lines took up; and, breaking ranks, they all crowded around him, cheering at the tops of their voices. General Lee stopped his horse and, after gaining silence, made the only speech to his men that he ever made. He was very brief, and gave no excuses or apologies for his surrender, but said he had done all in his power for his men, and urged them to go as quickly and quietly to their homes as possible, to resume peaceful avocations, and to be as good citizens as they had been soldiers; and this advice marked the course which he himself pursued so faithfully to the end."

Boston, November 6, 1901.

THE ENGLAND OF THE TIME OF THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

BY JOHN BELLOWS.

"GEORGE III. alone, and not England," remarks a recent writer in the *Times*, "was responsible for that great historic War of Independence." If along with the King we class a few headstrong advisers, the statement will probably be correct; for although the nation when once it was committed to the conflict with the American Colonies sided with the King, it was not because its judgment was convinced that he had acted justly, but because its passions were aroused; for the masses of the people were never consulted in the matter; nor did there exist any real means of consulting them. It is true there was a House of Commons that had on several occasions done service to the cause of right and of liberty; but it must be borne in mind that representative institutions are the result of an evolution extending over a long period of time, and that the stage at which they had arrived in the eighteenth century was an exceedingly imperfect one. The power of voting for candidates to Parliament was restricted to a very small minority, and even that minority was by no means composed of the most intelligent classes of the community. The voters were as a rule the tools of wealthy or powerful men, who used them to secure the return of their own nominees. The grosser forms of this corruption were swept away by the Reform Bill of 1832; not to give place to a perfect system of election, but to one less imperfect than that of the "Rotten boroughs" which had given occasion to Voltaire to say that Englishmen made themselves beasts for fourteen days in order that they might become

slaves for seven years. This referred to the fortnight during which the poll was kept open, and in which scenes occurred such as are depicted by Hogarth. That his paintings convey no exaggeration will be easily believed from the following illustrations which I had from people whose experience went back to the period before the Reform Bill.

A contested election practically meant a struggle for supremacy between two great families, who were respectively Whig and Tory. In a borough such as that with which I am most familiar—Gloucester—the chief voting power lay with the Freemen—a body which probably originated as far back as the time of the Roman occupation; for our oldest records speak of the Freemen as already in existence. The Freeman, wherever he went, retained his vote; and a hundred pounds was sometimes paid to bring such a man from Canada to Gloucester to record it. The Reform Bill only allowed votes to Freemen residing within seven miles of the borough limits. But in the old days it was a serious expense to bring a voter even from London to Gloucester. An agent would be sent to negotiate terms with him, and the negotiations sometimes extended over several weeks. The former resident in our city, who was paid for his loss of time in revisiting it, could not bear to come down among his old friends without being respectably dressed; and a suit of clothes was paid for accordingly. Then he discovered that his wife was unwilling for him to go alone, and a new dress was needful to enable her to accompany him. Some days after this it was found that it would not be safe to leave the children in London while their parents were at Gloucester, and an arrangement was made for the whole family to travel together in a four-horse coach, over a hundred miles each way, to and from that city, in which they were entertained in an hotel for a fortnight at the cost of the candidate for whom the vote was given. So extravagant was the expense that one of

the leading families of Gloucestershire had to sell a large estate to cover the cost of one lost election.

The wildest scenes in Hogarth's election pictures were equalled by the reality. "I recollect," said an old man to me, referring to a Gloucester contest previous to 1832—"I recollect going down Westgate Street after the poll was declared. There was a man in the shop that Fletcher has now, sawing up broomsticks into threes. As fast as he cut off a piece, he flung it over his shoulder into the street for *anybody* to fight with, and there *was awful work*!"

All boroughs were not however like Gloucester. At Old Sarum for example, things went on more respectably. The place had gone down until, it was averred, there was no house left in it; only one chimney remaining, which was kept in repair to prevent the representation from lapsing; and the elected member for Old Sarum took the oath with his hand on the chimney. The ancient law was that the voter must be the holder of a house "that put up a smoke." The same custom prevailed over some parts of the continent; for I remember once asking the *Maire* of a Commune in Belgium as to who had the right to vote, when he replied, "Every one who has a house that puts up a smoke." In some parts of England votes were made by freeholders who boiled a pot; evidently a proof of smoke having been put up. These were known as "pot wallopers," from an old word "wallop," to boil.

An Englishman of the present day of course regards the state of the country a century and a quarter ago just as he regards the Britain of the days of Cæsar. He is no more responsible for the one than for the other. Everywhere in Europe society was in a rougher state than it is now.¹

¹ Not in Europe only, but everywhere. In a history of his own family printed in 1855 by my kinsman, Henry W. Bellows of New York, he gives the names of several of the leading men of Walpole, N. H., of the time of the Revolution, and says that "they and the like converted the village tavern into a sort of literary pandemonium, in which fine scholarship, elegant wit, late card-playing, hearty eating, and hard drinking were mingled in a very fascinating complication." There can be no doubt that the same description would apply to a multitude of other towns on both sides of the Atlantic, at that period.

Bull-baiting, bear-baiting, cock-fighting, and other brutal amusements that had come down from the dark ages were common; and crime was repressed by codes of laws so severe that in the British Islands a multitude of offenses were punishable with death; a severity that made men callous to hanging. A street on the site of the New Street Station in Birmingham had been such a haunt of coiners that there was hardly a house in it one at least of whose occupants had not been hanged for counterfeiting money. A late clerk of the County Prison at Gloucester once told me that an old woman he knew had described to him the roadway that ran through the courtyard of the building in the time of George III. Iron railings only separated the mixed company of prisoners of all kinds from the by-passers. She said that when about twelve years of age she was going along this roadway, when one of the men behind the bars accosted her with, "Little maid, what be you come here for? To see we hanged I s'pose? We be'ant a goin' to be hanged today; 'tis put off till next Saturday!"

Many years ago I took a Philadelphian visitor over Gloucester Prison. He was struck on entering one of the principal wards with its resemblance to similar buildings in the United States. As we were leaving we met the magistrate who presided over the Committee in charge of the Prison, T. Barwick Lloyd Baker, the founder of the Reformatory system. On introducing the American to him, and mentioning what the latter had said about Gloucester Prison being so much like those on the other side of the water, T. B. Lloyd Baker said, "I can tell you the reason of that. Very soon after the United States had gained their independence, they found the need of an effective system of prison discipline, and they sent a commission to this country to enquire into the systems in vogue in Great Britain. It so happened that just before this, this prison at Gloucester required some extension and alteration, and

as John Howard had lately published his book, the magistrates decided to carry out his recommendations, and built this new portion on Howard's plan; that is, ours was the first prison in England to adopt his system. When the United States Commission returned it reported that the Gloucester system was the best; and it accordingly became the model on which American prisons were established. But these alterations in Gloucester were not made without opposition. Thus, the only seat a prisoner had in his cell used to be a stone pillar four inches square at the top; and when we fixed a board on this a foot square, and warmed the cells in winter, there was an outcry that if we made prisons so comfortable as that, everybody would want to go into them, and crimes would increase as a result of the indulgence!" A merry smile lighted the old magistrate's face as he recalled this pessimist prediction; and he then went on to say: "Many years after this the superiority of American prison management to that of most English jails was much talked of, and when Lord John Russell was Home Secretary—I think about 1836 (?)—his government sent a Commission to the United States to enquire into their systems. The result of this was that a circular was sent round to all the prisons in England, ordering them to carry out forty new rules. I was Chairman of the Magistrates here, and it devolved on me to acknowledge the receipt of this circular; which I did somewhat in this fashion:—'My Lord—I have the honor—and so on.—With respect to the forty new rules you order us to adopt, there will be no difficulty with thirty-six of them, inasmuch as they have always been the rules of Gloucester Prison. The 37th and 38th are of no particular importance; but we would respectfully state that we fear the last two are contrary to law, and we would suggest that before requiring us to enforce them you would take the opinion of the law-officers of the Crown with respect to them.'" Again a smile stole over Barwick Baker's face as he

added, "It was found we were right—and the two illegal rules were withdrawn."

Even later than the War of Independence the practise was maintained in English Courts of giving fees in certain cases to jurymen to bias a verdict. This evil custom lingered on till the trial for smuggling, of a grocer, of Irongate, Glasgow, a canny Scot named Robert MacNair, just before the end of the eighteenth century. The case was pretty clear against him, and the counsel for the Crown closed his speech by saying that if the jury found a verdict for the Crown there would be a guinea each for the jurymen. MacNair conducted his own defense. It was brief. He simply stated that he would only make one observation on the eloquent speech for the prosecution. "The learned gentleman who made it told you that if you find a verdict for the Crown there will be a guinea each for the gentlemen of the jury. All I have to say in reply is, that if the verdict is given for the defendant there will be *two* guineas each for you, and your supper at my house." The verdict, as it happened, was for the defendant; but the incident brought such ridicule on the practise of offering fees that this was the last time it was used.

Even so great an abuse as the right of "wager of battle" was only abolished at the close of the reign of George III. It had existed from the Norman Conquest, and was in fact the only "ordeal" left on the Statute book, all the others having been repealed under Henry III. It had long fallen into desuetude, when it was pleaded, in 1817, in the case of Thornton, who had murdered the sister of a man named Ashford, and who was brought to trial for the crime by the latter. Nicholas Tindal, who defended the accused, advised him to claim the right of wager of battle against Ashford, whom he challenged accordingly to mortal combat, instead of letting the case go before the jury. Ashford refused the challenge, and on the case being argued in full court, before Lord Ellenborough, it was given in Thornton's

favor, and he was discharged. . The matter at once came before Parliament, and by the Act 59 Geo. III. c. 46, [in 1818] wager of battle in cases of murder and felony was abolished. (*See "Essex Review, Oct., 1901."*)

As I have already said, to the Englishman of the present day the England of the times of George the Third has become as much a matter of "ancient history" as the landing of Julius Cæsar, and he can share the reminiscences of it with intelligent Americans with no more hesitation than he has in speaking of them to his own countrymen. If school books do not always treat of the period in the same spirit, they ought to do so in justice to both countries, and for the simple sake of truth.

If nature heals every scar in the landscape by the silent growth of vegetation, by a similar law she softens off with the lapse of time the memory of all old wrongs, unless we use force to prevent her doing so. There was a time when Saxon and Dane in the north of England, and Saxon and Norman in the south, had grievances against each other. The men who are descended from two of the races, or from all three, have no ground for reviving these grievances, nor have the New Englanders of 1901 any ground for holding the English who are living now, responsible for wrongs that some of their great-grandfathers did—and that many of them for that matter did *not*!

Here is an incident in the battle of Bunker's Hill that has never been published, and that will interest both Americans and Englishmen as an archæological curiosity:—

Two of the regiments that fought in the American War were the 88th Connaught Rangers and the Royal Marines. Lieut.-Col. Holland, a retired officer of the latter force, and for many years a neighbor of mine, lately mentioned to me a curious fact about his Marines. They perpetually stirred up quarrels with the men of the 88th; so that some years ago the Rangers had to be removed from Portsmouth, the headquarters of the Royal Marines, to another

district. The bad feeling that existed between them arose from two causes. In the first place the officers of the Marines until late years were ordered to enlist no recruits whose antecedents they could not satisfy themselves were satisfactory. The printed instructions to the recruiting sergeants were :

"You are not to receive *any strangers* or persons from a distance from their homes about whom you cannot make enquiries."

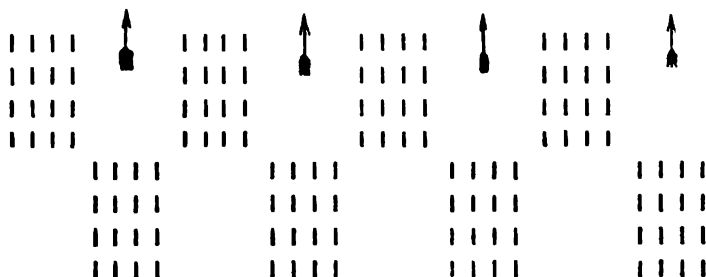
The result of this was that Irishmen seeking to enlist in the Marines were refused; so that the Irish regiments hated them; and the Marines retorted by "chaffing" the Irish soldiers at every opportunity. Whenever one of them found a man of the Connaught Rangers in a public house, or met with him in the street, he would annoy him by calling out—"Lie down, eighty-eighth, and let the Marines pass to the front!" and then would follow a fight.

Neither of these men had the slightest idea, Col. Holland says, of the meaning of the words, which originated in an order given in the battle of Bunker's Hill. I quote Col. Holland's words :

"At Bunker's Hill during the War of Independence the British forces suffered a very serious reverse. The Americans were intrenched in a very strong position, under excellent cover and were mostly armed with the Kentucky Rifle;¹ a vastly superior weapon, both in accuracy and range to the old 'Brown Bess' of the British. Moreover most of the Americans were backwoodsmen, and about the best marksmen in the world. To reach the American lines the British had to march up the open slopes, fully exposed to the sweeping fire of American sharpshooters, who sheltered by their entrenchments were bound to sweep away their exposed assailants. The Old 88th Regiment, or Connaught Rangers, were in the first line of attack with a battalion of the Royal Marines behind them in the second line as their

¹ Col. Holland is mistaken in this. The Kentucky rifle was not in existence at this period. The advantage on the American side was in the position; not in the weapons.

supports. The Rangers suffered terribly. Half the regiment were killed, and their ammunition was run out: it was time to relieve them, and the General rode up and ordered them to lie down, in the usual manner of relieving under fire. The exhausted men would form four deep, and the relieving line would form four deep also and advance and pass between the blank files.



So the word was passed along the shattered line, 'Lie down, eighty-eighth, and let the Marines pass to the front.' This was done. The Marines suffered fearfully, but accomplished the relief and covered the retreat. For this service they were awarded a Laurel-leaf wreath to be worn on their buttons and caps." Col. Holland adds, "I wore it myself for twenty-six years."

And so for a hundred and twenty-six years these soldiers have kept up their unreasoning quarrel! In this interval vast changes have taken place; for a *New* England has grown up on the east of the Atlantic in addition to the Older New England in the west: and the two are increasingly in unison with each other: until one may well say of them nearly in the words of the Frithiof's Saga:—

Who shall part you
Ye who ne'er should parted be ?

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY FREDERIC W. PUTNAM.

DURING the past decade, and particularly since the great incentive of the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, interest in investigations pertaining to Amercian Archaeology and Ethnology has been increasing from year to year. The designation of one of the buildings at the Exposition as the "Anthropological Building," with the instructive collections therein exhibited, arrested the attention of thousands of visitors and impressed them with the objects and methods of this branch of science. At that time a larger number of persons were actively engaged in anthropological investigations than ever before; and since then new institutions either partly or wholly devoted to anthropology have arisen, and the older ones have greatly increased their resources and collections. This has brought about the necessity of educating students for expert research in the various divisions of the science. Many special investigations are now being carried on, and there is an increasing demand for trained anthropologists in the field, in the museums, and in the universities.

A brief review of what has been done in American research during the past year and what is now in progress, so far as my personal knowledge extends, will exemplify this great activity.

In many of the universities and colleges courses in some division of Anthropology are given. Several universities, including Harvard, Columbia and Chicago, have regular departments with professors and instructors and provision for graduate work.

The American Association for the Advancement of Science, by the annual meetings of its Section of Anthropology, brings together an increasing number of workers in Anthropology. The meetings of the Anthropological Section at Detroit and at Denver were well attended. At Denver, Section H was one of special interest, notwithstanding the fact that many of the active members of the section were not present owing to their being engaged in field work in distant parts of the country. The winter meetings of the section, which are held in various cities, are also important reunions of anthropologists for the discussion of current topics.

The Anthropological Society of Washington has a large and active membership, and by its frequent meetings anthropologists are kept in touch with the researches conducted under the auspices of the Government.

The American Ethnological Society, founded in 1842, has recently been stimulated into renewed activity, and is now again taking its position designed by its founders, as a national society.

The Archaeological Institute of America, which has done but little during its history for the encouragement of research in America, while it has done valuable and most creditable work in classic lands, has this year established a fellowship for research in Central America. This is an indication of increasing interest in American research, and we may hope it will lead to further work in America on the part of the Institute.

The United States Government, through the National Museum, Smithsonian Institution and the Bureau of Ethnology, regularly employs at least twenty persons in museum and field work, and many others are engaged in the preparation of papers in connection with the voluminous publications of this department. It has carried on Archaeological work in the field during the year, in New Mexico, in Arizona, in the Indian Territory, and in Missouri; while

the gathering of linguistic material is constantly going on, and several of the Indian tribes have been visited during the year by the assistants of the Bureau of Ethnology. Three of the imperial octavo volumes of the Bureau, known as the Annual Reports, have been issued within the year, and two others are nearly ready for distribution. These will soon be followed by other volumes, one of which will contain the translation from the German of valuable memoirs pertaining to the study of the "Maya" hieroglyphs; another, a dictionary of the Maya language; and another, the Natick Dictionary, in which the American Antiquarian Society is especially interested. The Bureau has also renewed the publication of its Bulletins in enlarged form, a volume of which is nearly ready for issue.

The Smithsonian Institution and the National Museum have issued Annual Reports during the year, which, while devoted in large part to valuable papers on anthropology, mainly the results of the work of officers of the institutions, contain also important reprints and translations.

It will thus be seen that the government is doing much, although not all that we may wish. As large as the annual appropriations are, they are probably less than one-quarter of what is now being annually expended for anthropological work by several institutions in the country, principally through the generous contributions of individuals.

The Field Columbian Museum in Chicago, a direct result of the Exposition of 1893, receiving at the close of the Fair the principal collections from the Department of Ethnology and many special exhibits, has been very active in adding to its collections. It now stands in the front rank of anthropological museums, although anthropology is only one of its departments. This Museum issues an anthropological series of its publications containing the reports of special archaeological and ethnological researches. During the past year the Museum has had expeditions in Arizona, where large collections have been made in the ancient Hopi

country. It has also had several assistants, under the personal supervision of the Curator of Anthropology, engaged in making collections among the Indian tribes of the interior and of the Pacific Coast; and it has secured several important private collections by purchase. The recent collections of the greatest interest to the ethnologist and archaeologist are those relating to the Hopi, and illustrative of the ancient arts of the people and also of their native life, particularly the present ceremonials of the people now living in the Hopi pueblos. The researches carried on by this Museum have been entirely through the aid of a few generous patrons.

The University of Chicago, by the active work in Mexico of its Professor of Anthropology, has secured many valuable archaeological and ethnological specimens. The principal research has been among the little-known tribes of Southern Mexico. Important collections have also been added to the Walker Museum of the University, and several Papers and an Album relating to the Mexican tribes have been published by the Professor in connection with his researches.

The Museum of Archaeology of the University of Pennsylvania, which has been established for a few years only in the first section of its building, has been active in its researches in this country during the past year. It has also continued its work in Assyria and in Egypt, from which countries it has important collections. During the year its curator has been engaged personally in researches among the Indian tribes of the United States, from which he has obtained material illustrative of Indian ceremonies and particularly of the various native games, thus adding to the famous collection for which this Museum is particularly noted. A special impetus was given to this collection by the exhibition of games at the World's Fair in 1893. The Curator has recently returned from a trip to Cuba where he obtained many important specimens. This Museum is also doing much in connection

with the ceremonials of the Chinese, and is forming a collection of great importance for comparative ethnology. In all this work the Museum is dependent upon the help of its patrons. A Bulletin containing papers on special subjects and giving information in relation to the collections, is published by the Museum.

The Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia has published in its quarto *Journal* a series of papers giving the results of the personal explorations of one of its members—Mr. Clarence B. Moore—on the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts of Florida and Alabama. A few months since, Mr. Moore's latest work in Alabama was issued, and, like his previous papers, it has made known a mass of material obtained from mounds, ancient burial-places and village sites, and shows how thoroughly the work of this explorer and author has been done. The Moore Collection is exhibited in the Museum of the Academy, which also has the Vaux and other archæological and ethnological collections.

The American Museum of Natural History of New York has, through several of its patrons, accomplished an unprecedented amount of research during the year. It has also secured several collections of American archæology and ethnology of great importance and value, a large sum of money having been received from private sources for the purchase of collections and for the expenses of many expeditions in the field. Of the latter, the Jesup Expedition has continued its work with success in the northwestern portions of America and in Northeastern Siberia. During the past year seven expeditions have been, or still are, in the field, and of these three are in Siberia. The Museum has recently sent out a new expedition which is organized for extended research in China, and is to be maintained by a special committee on Asiatic research. Other patrons have provided for special expeditions and researches: as the Loubat expedition to Mexico; the Huntington expedition to the western Indian tribes; the Mrs. Jesup expedition to

the Arapahoes; the F. E. Hyde research in connection with the antiquity of man in the Delaware Valley; the Museum exploration of the ancient Indian sites in the vicinity of the City of New York; and the Hyde expedition to New Mexico and westward to Mexico. The Museum is publishing a series of Memoirs giving the results of these expeditions. Three numbers have appeared during the year and three more will soon be issued. It also publishes a Bulletin, of which one volume containing anthropological papers has been issued during the year. Since these Memoirs and Bulletins contain the results of original archaeological and ethnological research in the field, and describe and illustrate the specimens secured, they show how much is being done by this Museum, and the importance of the collections exhibited in its extensive halls. The Museum has made a special effort to collect all possible data relating to the physical characters of the various American peoples, and it has a very extensive series of life masks with the photographs and measurements of many individuals in a number of Indian tribes. This work is constantly progressing, so that in time all the tribes of America will have been visited and a full series of somatological data obtained from each. At the same time a study is being made of the arts, customs, ceremonials, myths and language of the various tribes.

The Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology of Harvard University has, by the assistance of a few patrons of science, done its part during the past year in accumulating a large amount of original material for study, and in the increase and diffusion of knowledge by its explorations and publications. During the year the Museum has had expeditions in Yucatan, in southern Mexico and in Guatemala. It has also carried on a few explorations of Indian sites in New England. Its Curator has been able, by the income of the Wolcott and Warren Funds, to direct one of his students in an archaeo-

logical exploration in New Mexico, and personally to make an examination of the gravel deposits of California in connection with the evidence of the antiquity of man upon the Pacific coast. By the contribution of a generous patron and strong friend of the Museum, the Curator was able to start another student in the study of the language and myths of the Navajo Indians, preparatory to research among the Mayas of Yucatan, and other Central American tribes. At the personal expense of a graduate student of the department, an exploration was made by this gentleman, assisted by another student of the department, of a mound and burial-place in Mississippi. The expense of the Museum field work in Yucatan, Chiapas and Guatemala, as well as of the Museum publications during several years, has been met by the Fund for Mexican and Central American Research. This is an annual subscription fund largely maintained by two members of the Museum Faculty who have taken a prominent part in Mexican and Central American research. Our fellow member, Mr. Edward H. Thompson, has continued his researches, particularly in the ruins of Chacmultun and of Chichen Itza. Moulds, photographs and copies of mural paintings have been received from him. At Quirigua, the expedition under Mr. Gordon made moulds of the sculptures and monoliths of which moulds had not been taken on previous expeditions. In the Usumacinta Valley, Mr. Teobert Maler has made extensive explorations, taking many beautiful photographs and a number of moulds of sculptures. Reports on his work for the Museum are received and are in course of publication. The first report is of special interest from his account of the "Lacantuns of Lake Petha" and from his description, with illustrations, of the important group of hitherto unknown ruins of "Piedras Negras." The Museum has recently published Volume II. of its Archaeological and Ethnological Papers. It has also been able to reproduce in facsimile a long lost Mexican Codex. The reproduction

has been named Codex Nuttall in honor of Mrs. Zelia Nuttall through whose researches it was brought to light, and under whose immediate supervision it has been reproduced. This will soon be issued, and will be the tenth of the old Mexican codices now known to students. In addition to what has been done by the expeditions, the Museum has received a considerable number of specimens from various sources. It is unfortunate that all its treasures cannot be exhibited at present, as the halls of the Museum are already overcrowded and an addition to the building is very much needed.

Among the several museums and societies in the country that are paying particular attention to local archaeology are:

The New York State Museum at Albany, which has a collection of special value relating to the Indians of New York. During the past year it has made large and important additions, and has issued several publications based on its collections.

The Buffalo Society of Natural History has taken advantage of the Ethnological Department of the Pan-American Exposition to do considerable local work, the results of which with many other interesting collections have been on exhibition at the Buffalo Exposition.

The Carnegie Museum at Pittsburgh has begun a collection of archaeology and ethnology, and is making rapid strides in that direction.

The Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences has for a number of years given special attention to the archaeology of the Mississippi Valley, and has important collections from mounds and burial-places. It publishes Proceedings containing papers on local archaeology.

The Peabody Academy of Science in Salem, well known from its important ethnological collections, is increasing its typical exhibit of local archaeology.

The recent foundation of a Museum of Archaeology at the

Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, is another indication of the spreading interest in this subject.

The most recent foundation, and one that bids fair to be far-reaching in its results, is that of the Department of Anthropology at the University of California. A patron of the University will contribute the sum of \$50,000 a year for five years to be expended in expeditions and research. The same patron has given to the University large collections of archaeological and ethnological specimens; and these collections are now stored in a specially constructed fire-proof building waiting the establishment of a university museum and the inauguration of regular courses of instruction in anthropology.

At the coming Exposition at St. Louis, ten years after that at Chicago, the managers propose a Department of Anthropology. The plans for the Department have not yet been determined, but with the great incentive before the managers we cannot doubt that the result will prove to be worthy of the occasion and of the present demands of the science.

As an encouragement of the study of the ancient Mexican picture-writing, the Duke of Loubat has, at his personal expense, reproduced in facsimile six ancient Mexican codices and two previously unedited Mexican manuscripts, namely: Codex Vaticanus, No. 3773; Codex Borgia (ex-Velletri); Codex de Bologne (Cospiano); Codex Telleriano-Remensis; Codex Vaticanus, No. 3738 (de los Rios); Codex Fejérváry-Mayer; the Tonalamatl Aubin; and Don Ignacio Borunda's "Clave general de Jeroglíficos Americanos." The originals of these invaluable codices are in widely separated cities of Europe and heretofore they have not been available for comparative study.

Among other means for the diffusion of knowledge in the science of anthropology in this country, mention should be made of "The American Anthropologist," a journal which is doing much to extend the interest in the subject to which it

is devoted ; also to the Journal of The American Folk-Lore Society, which is a valuable medium for the record of our rapidly disappearing native lore ; and to the " American Antiquarian " which has been established for a number of years.

NOTE. Since this paper was read at the annual meeting of the Society in October, 1901, the Carnegie Institution has been founded, at Washington, by Andrew Carnegie, who has won the lasting gratitude of all students of science. The scope of this foundation embraces all the sciences, and its purpose is the encouragement and patronage of research. I can only add, in this brief note, that such an institution will have the power to render incalculable service to American Archaeology and Ethnology, where so much needs to be done without loss of time.

It should also be stated that since this paper was presented at the meeting, many of the important memoirs, papers, bulletins and reports, and the Mexican Codex alluded to as in preparation, have been issued ; and that there has been an unprecedented amount of original research published during the six months following the meeting of the Society.

F. W. P.

"THE TALE OF TANTIUSQUES."

AN EARLY MINING VENTURE IN MASSACHUSETTS.

BY GEORGE H. HAYNES.

THIS paper presents some early chapters in the story of what is probably the oldest "living" mine within the United States. It became known to the whites in 1633, and has been worked intermittently for more than two centuries and a half. Very recently a company has been incorporated which is now attempting to develop this ancient property by the methods of modern mining engineering. The mine is situated in the midst of a tract of land, still wild and desolate, in the southern part of Sturbridge, Worcester County, within about a mile of the Connecticut boundary line.

Three years ago Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., of Boston, presented to this Society a collection of manuscripts bearing the title "The Tale of Tantiusques." The volume is notable alike for the interest of the documents which it contains and for the skill with which they have been edited and arranged for preservation. This admirable work was Mr. Winthrop's generous response to the inquiries of our late associate, the Reverend Edward G. Porter, in regard to the existence among the unpublished Winthrop papers of any documents relating to the old mine, to which his attention had been directed by Mr. Levi B. Chase, a Sturbridge antiquarian of rare modesty, and of great enthusiasm and accuracy in research. These papers interested Mr. Porter greatly, and he was planning a detailed study of them when overtaken by his fatal illness. Although a native of Sturbridge and familiar from childhood with the scenes and

stories of this ancient mine, the writer feels like a trespasser, as he enters upon the task which far abler hands had been on the point of undertaking.

In granting the charter for the Massachusetts Bay Colony the attention of Charles I. was fixed not so much upon the trading privileges or the forms of government to be granted to his restive subjects, as upon possible sources of revenue for himself.¹ Arbitrary taxes the King had just renounced in the Petition of Right.² But he was resolved not to be dependent upon grants by Parliament. Accordingly, by far the most emphatic provision of the Charter, four times repeated in substantially the same words, was the insistence that the lands granted to the patentees should yield the King "the fiftie parte of the oare of gould and silver which should, from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes then after, happen to be found, gotten, had, and obteyned in, att, or within any of the saide lands, lymytts, territories, and precincts," *etc.*; for the King was here graciously granting to the patentees "all mynes and myneralls, aswell royall mynes of gould and silver as other mynes and myneralls whatsoever."³

The early colonists shared the hope that El Dorado might be discovered in New England. Foremost of them all, both in his knowledge of the natural sciences, and in his zeal for developing all possible mineral resources of the new land, was John Winthrop, Jr., who had followed his father, Governor Winthrop, to Boston in 1631.⁴ His mining enterprises were many, and claimed his attention through a long series of years. Among the first of his ventures came the salt works at Ryall-side, then a part of Salem; these he

¹ March 4, 1628-9.

² June 7, 1628.

³ Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, I., 3-19.

⁴ Of the little-known but versatile career of John Winthrop, Jr., our associate, Frederick John Kingsbury, has given an account in the *Proceedings of this Society*, New Series, XII., pp. 295-306. See also a fuller account, by Thomas Franklin Waters, in the *Publications of the Ipswich Historical Society*, 1899.

had set up as early as 1638.¹ In 1641² the General Court had ordered: "For the incuragment of such as will adventure for the discovery of mines, — whosoever shalbee at the charge for the discovery of any mine wthin this iurisdiction shall enioy the same, wth a fit portion of land to the same, for 21 years to their ~~sp~~ p use; & after that time expired, this Court shall have power to allot so much of the benefit thereof to publike use as they shall thinke equall." It was in this same year that the younger Winthrop went to England; upon his return, two years later, he brought over workmen, mining implements, and £1,000 for the establishing of iron works. Forthwith he petitioned the General Court for encouragement to the undertakers of the enterprise, and even for the direct co-operation of the Court in furthering the work. In reply the Court expressed its cordial approval of this enterprise as a "thing much conducing to the good of the country," but a lack of funds in the treasury prevented the grant of any money. But to the group of individuals who joined in this venture the Court gave nearly everything for which they asked, viz.: "a monopoly of it for 21 years liberty to make use of any six places not already granted and to have three miles square in every place to them and their heirs, and freedom from public charges, trainings," *etc.* Under such auspices iron works were started at Lynn and at Braintree, which for quite a time were prosecuted with considerable zeal and success.³ In midsummer of 1644 the General Court granted Mr. Winthrop a plantation at or near Pequod for iron works.⁴ Later in the same year the Court passed very encouraging resolutions, which took notice of the £1,000 having been "already disbursed," and,—as if in further encouragement of the younger Winthrop's enterprise,—there follows immediately this decree: "Mr. John Winthrope, Iunior, is granted y^e hill at Tan-

¹ Felt, *History of Ipswich*, p. 73; F. M. Caulkins, *History of New London*, pp. 40, 41.

² June 2, 1641; *Rec. of Mass. Col.*, I., 327.

³ *Boston Records*, I., 68; Winthrop, II., p. 213., Savage's note.

⁴ June 28.

tousq, about 60 miles westward, in which the black leade is, and liberty to purchase some land there of the Indians."¹

The existence of deposits of graphite in that region had been known early in the Colony's history. In 1633, John Oldham, of interesting memory in connection with both the Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay Colonies, made the trip overland to Connecticut, trading with the Indians. He returned with a stock of hemp and beaver. He brought also "some black lead, whereof the Indians told him there was a whole rock."² Such a discovery, mentioned by Governor Winthrop, could not fail to arrest the attention of his son, eager for all mineralogical researches.

As a matter of fact the grant by the General Court seems merely to have given validity to what had already been gotten under way. Five weeks earlier, William Pyncheon of Springfield had written to Stephen Daye, the first printer in the English-American Colonies, telling him of having commended him to the good graces of a certain Indian, with the assurance that the Governor was sending this man, Daye, "to serch for something in the ground, not for black lead as they supposed but for some other mettel."³ But Daye's prospecting tour in Winthrop's interest was already begun, for on the very day on which this letter was written to him, he secured for Winthrop from Webucksham, the sachem of the region, "for and in consideration of sundry goods," the grant of "ten miles round about the hills where the mine is thats called black lead." Only two days before the Court's grant, as if to make assurance doubly sure, Daye secured another deed of sale, or rather a confirmation, from Nodowahunt, the uncle of the sachem, who by this instrument surrendered whatever right he had "in that place for

¹ Nov. 12, 1644. *Mass. Rec.* II., 82.

² *History of New England*, Winthrop, I., 80-111, n.

³ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, VI., 377. He added that the black lead "by Quassink," i. e., in the region of Tantiusques, was not so good as that which lay five or six miles further to the south. This latter deposit of graphite is located in a hill lying partly in Union and partly in Ashford, Conn.—Hammond-Lawson "History of Union," p. 36.

Ten Miles." As if in doubt whether these deeds would be binding, since they were secured before the action of the General Court, two months later,¹ Winthrop caused the whole transaction to be gone through again, with much greater formality in the observance of both Indian and English procedure. This time, in consideration of "Ten Belts of Wampampeeg with many Blankets & Cotes of Trucking Cloth and Sundry other Goods" there was granted to Winthrop "All the Black Lead Mines and all other Places of Mines and Minerals with all the Lands in the Wilderness lying North and West, East and South Round the said Black Lead Hills for Ten Miles Each way only Reserving for my selfe and people Liberty of Fishing and Hunting and convenient Planting in the said Grounds and Ponds and Rivers." This deed was signed by the mark of the sachem, of his son, and of five Indian witnesses and by the names of five English witnesses.²

Two weeks from the day upon which the General Court made the grant, Winthrop signed a contract for the developing and working of the mine, entrusting this task to a man named King, who had been one of Daye's companions in prospecting and in negotiating the deeds with the Indians. Winthrop was to advance £20 in trading cloths and wampum, in consideration of which King agreed to go up speedily to the black lead hill, with other men of his own hiring, there to dig the black lead, for which he was to "have after the rate of fourty shillings for every tunne to be

¹ The "20th of the 11th Month, 1644."

² Washcomo, the son mentioned above, acknowledged this instrument before Rich. Bellingham, Gov'r, 19 Dec. 1654. It was again confirmed by him March 1, 1658-9, the description being: "All there right in the Blacklead hill at Tantiusques with all the land round about the said hill for ten miles." Washcomo adds: "All that land aforesaid with the said Blacklead hill and all other places of Blacklead or other mines or minerals." Another confirmation before five witnesses bears date of 16 Nov. 1658, the consideration being "Ten Yards of Trucking Cloth," which a dozen years later seems to have been worth about four shillings a yard. (See letter of Wilt Winthrop to Fitz-John Winthrop, April 17, 1671. 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., VIII., 386.) This last instrument was sworn to by the proprietor's representative June 27, 1688.

These five original documents are in the volume presented by Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., to this Society. They were all received by Edw^d Fynchon, Regr, June 24, 1752, and recorded in the registry at Springfield. See W. 1751-3.

paid him when he had digged up twenty Tunnes of good marchantable black lead and put it into an house safe from the Indians." He was also to investigate another deposit of black lead, mentioned by the Indians, and if it should prove easier to work than at Tantiusque, he was to "notify the same to the said John Winthrop with all the speede he can."¹

During the following winter, on a journey from Boston to Saybrook, Winthrop came near visiting his new acquisition. Having lost the trail to the Mohegan country in a snow storm, he passed the night in a deserted wigwam, probably within ten or twelve miles of the mine. His first intention was to visit it; the next morning, however, he was informed by friendly Indians that he had quite missed his way, and that he was heading toward Springfield, to which place he proceeded without further delay.² The severity of the winter would probably have made mining impossible; but if King had been at Tantiusques at this time, certainly Winthrop would have made more effort to visit the mine. Although it remained in his possession thirty-two years, there is no evidence that he ever saw this property, from which he hoped so much.

For a number of years the mine lay idle, although schemes for its development were often under discussion. A Dr. Robert Child, whom Winthrop had interested in several of his enterprises while last in England, writes to him, urging him not to lay out too much expense in expectation of finding silver, of the presence of which graphite furnishes no evidence, as he shows by a detailed account of the occurrences of graphite in Europe; he adds shrewdly: "I am unwilling to beate you out of y^r great hopes; nay I hope I shall not discourage you fro^m digging lustily about it, for the comodity, as I have tould you,

¹ This may refer to the Union-Ashford deposit, or to a less-known and inferior one about three miles north of the mine. The inference seems to be that it was not included in the Winthrop purchase.

² Winthrop's account of this journey, in abbreviated Latin, is printed in 2 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, VIII., 4-12.

wisely managed, will maintaine it selfe, but pray let not out too much cost, till you have more certainty than as yet you have."¹ Four years later Winthrop writes to Child that he has as yet done nothing about the mine, "because of the difficulty in the beginning. Except a plantation were neere, or a good stocke it can be well forborne a yeare or 2 wth because of your departure I have not once minded to raise by other adventure."²

These years of waiting were not a period of inactivity, for meantime Winthrop was petitioning the Connecticut authorities for the encouragement of "some search and tryall for mettalls in this Country," citing the action which the Bay Colony had already taken. In response, the Court granted liberal monopoly privileges, in case "the said John Winthrop Esq^r shall discover, sett vpon and meinteine, or cause to be found, discovered, set vpon and meinteined, such mynes of lead, copper or tinn, or any mineralls, as antimony, vitriall, black lead, allom, stone salt, salt springs, or any other the like, within this Jurisdiction, and shall sett vp any worke, for the digging, washing, melting, or any other operation about the said mynes or mineralls, as the nature thereof requireth."³

In 1657 Winthrop contracted with a Saybrook man, named Matthew Griswold, to work the Tantiusques mine on shares; but it is doubtful if this was carried out. In the fall of the same year, however, he at last interested in the mine some Boston men of wealth and influence, one of whom was already concerned in the Lynn and Braintree iron works.⁴

In the following spring actual work began. The new

¹ 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., I., 153-155.

² March 23, 1648-9. 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., VIII., 41.

³ May 16, 1651. Col. Rec. of Conn., 1636-1665, pp. 222, 223.

⁴ This was William Paine. 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., VII., 402. The other, Capt. Thos. Clarke, is said to have been one of the richest merchants in Boston; as a reward for public service this very year, May 6, 1657, there had been granted him by the General Court the land upon which was situated the black lead mines in what is now Ashford, the mineral from which Pyncheon had declared was better than that from Tantiusques. Hammond-Lawson, "History of Union," p. 36.

partners are eager to see prompt returns. From the first the problem of transportation was a puzzling one; they importune Winthrop to "tack such a corce, as what is or shal be diged of it you wil spedly git it to the water side."¹ They offer to assume Winthrop's agreement with Griswold, since it is essential that all the lead be kept together. Again they suggest: "ffor the caredge of the leade to the water side, Rich. Ffellowes is very willinge to ingage; first, by goeing a turne or two vpon tryall, & after to goe vpon more serten price; wee conseiue hee is fited for horses, & shall leaue him to your selfe for conclution, which wee desior you wold hasten, conseiueinge it will doe best to tracke the way before the weades bee grone high."² They made a conditional agreement with Fellows, but apparently Winthrop overruled it, for in May, Paine again writes to him: "You ware plesed in youre last to giue vs to vnderstand that you had mani carts promised you to fech the led, wich I hope, before thes com to hand you haue feched what there is; but if you haue not alredy feched it away let them by al menes carie vp barils to put it vp and bring it in barils."³

The mine was so remote that it was hard to get workmen to go up into the wilderness or to stay there. From time to time Winthrop is urged to send men, "for they which are theare are weary of beinge theare," but when at last one man came, under Winthrop's direct employ, they could only report: "his hol work and study haue bin to mack trobel and hinder oure men."⁴ Called upon to act as peacemaker, Winthrop drew up a contract for a period of about two years between his partners and the two workmen; they were to dig or raise "out of the Blacklead mine at Tantiusques the quantity of twenty tunnes yearly of good marchantable black lead, or thirty tunnes yearly if the said quantities can there be raised by such labor and endeavor

¹ 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., VII., 404.

² 29th 1 mo. 1658. 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., VII., 405. ³ *Ibid.*, 408. 11 May, 1656.

⁴ 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., VII., 409.

by fire & other meanes as are usual and necessary in such workes." They were to transport this lead to some convenient point on the Connecticut River between Windsor Falls and Hockanum, and were to receive as pay for each ton so delivered "the full sume of Ten pounds in English goods or wheat & peas as they shall desire."¹

Meantime Winthrop's mining had become well known at a distance. John Davenport of New Haven writes him a friendly letter, informing him of a report that had come to his ears that black lead was commanding such a high price in London that even its dust should not be cast away as useless.²

But mining at Tantiusques was a crude process, and returns upon the investment were slow in making their appearance. In September, 1658, five months after active operations were begun, Winthrop wrote to his son, then in London: "There is some black lead digged, but not so much as they expected, it being very difficult to gett out of y^e rocks, w^{ch} they are forced to breake with fires, their rocks being very hard, and not to be entered further than y^e fire maketh way, so as y^e charge hath beene so greate in digging of it that I am like to have no profit by y^e same."³

Months later the same difficulties are being experienced. Paine writes: "the diging of the surfe (surface?) haue bin verie chargable to vs, for want of a horce or catel to carie there wood, for thay can doe nothing but by firing, and the caring wood vpon there backs tack vp the gretest part of there time: therefore these are to desire you to help

¹ This document is signed by Winthrop in the presence of two witnesses, and he appends the pledge that in case Paine and Clarke do not assent to this agreement, the two men "shalbe paid for the tyme they spend about the pay they intend to gett & as 2 men shall judge fitt." As the paper is not signed by Paine and Clarke, it is doubtful if it ever became of effect.

² Yet the price which he quotes "8^d per tunne for lead in the bigger peeces," is less than that promised to these workmen, and far less than that which was obtained in later years. 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., VII., 496.

³ 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., VIII., 50.

him to the horse . . . or a paire of oxen; but I think a horse will be best."¹

How long work was continued under this management and how great an output was secured, there is now no means of knowing. It is significant that the last extant reference to Tantiusques made by its first proprietor occurs in a letter from him to the Secretary of the Royal Society of London, which had been recently founded. Winthrop writes in terms of the highest appreciation of his privilege of membership in this Society; expresses regret that his earlier communications and collections, sent to the Society, had miscarried through the accidents of war; and gives a quite extended account of various mineral resources of North America, and of his experiments in making salt. After referring to some of his heavy pecuniary losses, resulting from the capture of vessels by the Dutch, he adds, "evidently in allusion to Tantiusques,"² "But who knowes the Issues of Divine Providence! Possibly I might have buried more in an uncertaine mine (w^{ch} I fancied more than salt) had not such accidents prevented."³ It is to be regretted that his grandson and many a later mining speculator could not have profited by this chastened experience.

For the next half century interest in Tantiusques centres not in mining experiments, but in the descent of the property. When John Winthrop, Jr., died in 1676, the bulk of his landed estate was left to his two sons, who held it in common. For years the only mention of Tantiusques is found in two letters which refer to the preservation and recording of the Indian deeds. In 1707, upon the death of his brother, all of this landed estate came under the sole ownership of Wait Winthrop. Poor health and the weight of public cares prevented his engaging actively in the developing of the mine, but he was keenly alive to the importance of safeguarding his family's interests. It

¹ 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., VII., 410.

² Says Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr.

³ Nov, 12, 1668. 5 Mass. Hist. Col., VIII., 135.

will be remembered that the General Court had granted Winthrop the hill containing the mine, "and liberty to purchase some land there of the Indians," and that the deeds had described the land purchased as "lying . . . round the said Black lead Hill for ten miles each way." However a geometrician might interpret this description, the Winthrop heirs always contended that it denoted a tract "ten miles square, including the black lead hill." In the middle of the seventeenth century so extensive a purchase probably attracted no attention, but seventy-five years later the General Court was making grants which threatened to trench upon the Winthrop domain. Accordingly, in 1714, rehearsing the improvements which his father had made,—improvements now discontinued "by reason of the long warr and trouble with the Indians,"—Wait Winthrop petitioned the General Court that a certain Capt. Jno. Chandler might be empowered to survey this tract "to be to your petitioner and his heirs, and the place may be of record, that any new grant may not be laid upon the same land."¹ Some months later he intimates that although his father's right to ten miles square was indisputable, he himself would be satisfied with six miles square. Yet the Court proved willing to grant him only four miles square. Although this was short of his proposal and "but a small thing with respect to the contents of the purchase, which was ten miles every way from the mine," yet Wait Winthrop declared that he was not unwilling to accept this as a settlement of the controversy, provided the boundaries could be laid out to his satisfaction.

June 8, 1715, the Court ordered the making a survey of the tract; this order was carried out October 11 of the same year, by Capt. Chandler, accompanied by Mr. Win-

¹ June 25, 1714. 6 Mass. Hist. Coll., V., 294, 295. What is apparently the unfinished draft of another petition on the same subject, supposed by the editors to have been written in August, 1714, is to be found on pp. 297-299 of the same volume. But reference is obviously made in it to the survey of October 11, 1715, which would point to a later date.

throp's son, John, who was directed by his father to make careful inquiry, in order to locate the most valuable land of the region within the tract. Their method of procedure is best presented in the words of a later statement and petition which Winthrop sent to the Court: They had hoped to take as one boundary either the Colony line or else the Quinebaug River, "but upon their view they found nothing between the mine and the river as also between the mine & the Collony line nothing but mountains & rox not improuable and scarce worth anything; wherupon they layd it out in a sort of triangular square, that thay might take in som good land with a great deale of bad, and thought as long as it took no more than the quantity of fowr miles square, it might answare the intention, it being all within the said purchase and granted to nobody else, . . . but the House of Representatives were pleased not to be satisfied with it inasmuch as it was not laid in a square."¹ Winthrop was doubtless right in inferring that it was the influence of the Springfield representatives that blocked his scheme, for these men held that the tract, so plotted, would overlap the three mile strip which they were urging the Court to add to the new plantation of Brimfield.

Wait Winthrop was much discouraged by the rejection of this survey. He writes to his son, expressing the fear that the whole grant may be lost, and urging the speedy making of a new survey "that may be square and take in the mine and as much of the best land as it will"; he thinks "two or three days at Tantiusques would finish a new plat, now you know where the best land is."² A year later he is still ill at ease about the matter: "Our Gen^l Court sits in a few days: I would fain do something about the Tanti-usque land before I leaue this place, or we shall lose it all."³ Less than a month after writing thus to his son, Wait Winthrop died.⁴

¹ June 25, 1714. 6 Mass. Hist. Coll., 299.

² Boston 8th 1st., 1716. 6 Mass. Hist. Coll., V., 327, 328.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 362. Oct. 22, 1717.

⁴ Nov. 17, 1717.

A score of years had passed before the bounds of the Winthrop grant were adjusted. At the State House is a map, bearing the signature of John Chandler and of two others and headed by the inscription: "Pursuant to an Order of the Generall Assembly of the 7th day of June, 1728, we have Reformed the Survey of 10240 Acres of Land at Tantiusque or the Black led mines being the Contents of four mile Square, belonging to the Heirs of the Late Hon^{ble} Major Gen^l Winthrop Dec^d And have laid it out in a Square figure. as We Judge is a full Equivalent for his former Survey." The new survey took the Colony line as its southern boundary. Brimfield New Grant overlapped the Winthrop territory at the west by a strip a mile and a half wide.¹

¹ *Maps of Tantiusques.*

At least six maps of the Tantiusques region are extant, four of them being preserved among the documents presented to this Society; the others are at the State House. They are as follows:

- I. The Map for which Jno. Chandler made the survey, Oct. 11, 1715, in accordance with the order of the Court of June 8. Scale: 100 perch to an inch. Signed by the surveyor.
- II. A Map of identical dimensions with the preceding, and dated "Octobr 11th," the year having been carefully erased. "This Map," says Mr. R. C. Winthrop, Jr., "is altogether in the handwriting of John Winthrop, F. R. S." It is signed "pr J. C. Jun^r Surveyor." Its entries differ in many interesting particulars from Chandler's chart.
- III. "A True Copy of The Map & Survey, According To the Minutes thereof in My hands by whome it was at first Surveyed." Woodstock, Nov^r 13th 1723.
- IV. The Map of 1728, described above, by which Chandler and two others "laid it out in a Square figure."
- V. "This plan of Tantiusques or the Black-Lead-Mines belonging to John Winthrop Esq. contains 6802 2-3 Acres lying in the Centre of a fine Inhabitted Country in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." It has neither date nor signature. It looks as if made by a wall-paper designer, rather than by a surveyor; well-drawn and tastefully colored trees are artistically scattered over the oblong tract. At the mine are pictured three houses on the left and two on the right of the road from Woodstock to Brimfield. The "Explanation" contains 14 numbers, five of them referring to the highly conventionalised villages which bound the tract; each has a meeting-house, and from four to eleven houses.

The reduction in the area of the tract from 10,240 to 6803 2-3 acres indicates an adjustment with the Lechmeres of the disputed title.

- VI. (Without Date or Signature.) Endorsement: "a ref draft of the 21 milequar trackt of land Comenly Cal'd and known by the name of Tanteasques belonging to John Winthrop Esq."

This is an extremely crude piece of work, yet some of the entries, particularly the mention of the meeting house and of the name "Storbridge" would indicate that it was prepared for John Winthrop, "F. R. S.," and not earlier than 1735.

It bears the following "Not.": "the pricked lins according to the best informa-

Although—or because—one of the leading lawyers of his day, Wait Winthrop left no will. In consequence there arose over the settlement of his estate a prolonged legal controversy between his son, John Winthrop, and his son-in-law, Thomas Lechmere. Our only concern at present is to note that this Tantiusques tract containing the black lead mine formed a considerable part of the estate the Connecticut portion of which was at issue in *Lechmere v. Winthrop*, a leading case in the law of inheritance.¹ Believing himself wronged by the decision of the colonial courts which required the division of the real estate among the heirs instead of its retention by the eldest son alone, in 1726 John Winthrop sailed for England, to seek redress from the Privy Council. This was finally accorded him, though only after several years of costly litigation.²

tion I have is to sew you part of the town Bounderis as is settled within your 21 mile Right." Yet none of the Winthrop petitions ever seems to have advanced a claim to a tract *twenty-one* miles square.

An Index explains the chief points of interest. These are some of the entries:

1. is the pond at the min.
2. is y^e black lead heel.
3. is ovr hous betwin y^e min & pond.
4. is the bruk and fall that comes out of y^e pond maks quenebogg River.
8. is fullers black lead min 9 mils diste South from us.
9. is part of the town of Starford cald y^e Iron workes.
15. is new matfield or as its now Cald Storbridge 4 1-2 mils dist- y^e meeting hous.

¹ The Tantiusques tract, together with all the other portions of the estate lying in Massachusetts, was distributed according to the laws of that colony regulating intestate estates, two-thirds going to the son, one-third to the daughter.

² The following account of this John Winthrop,—necessary for the understanding of the later story of Tantiusques,—is taken almost *verbatim* from the Introduction contributed by Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., to the volume of manuscripts.

John Winthrop was born in 1681, and was graduated from Harvard in 1700. Seven years later he was married to Anne, daughter of Gov. Joseph Dudley. "In 1711 he removed from Boston to New London, in order to superintend and develop the family property in that neighborhood, a task for which he was little suited, owing to unbusinesslike habits, irritable temper and a tendency to live beyond his means. During a residence of fifteen years in Connecticut, he managed, with the best intentions, to embroil himself not merely with the Courts and Legislature of the Colony, but also with many private individuals, who, as he claimed, had trespassed on his lands." Winthrop knew that he was thoroughly unpopular in Connecticut, especially after his appeal to the Privy Council had resulted in the setting aside of the decision of the Colonial Courts. London life proved more congenial. Accordingly, while his wife remained in New London, Connecticut, to bring up his small children and manage his estates, settling controversies and trying to meet his requests for remittances, on one pretext or another John Winthrop prolonged his stay in London for twenty-one years, until his death in 1747.

John Winthrop had early developed tastes for literary and scientific studies. In London there were abundant opportunities for the cultivation of such tastes; he formed an interesting circle of acquaintances, and in 1734 was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, from which it happens that he is habitually styled John Winthrop, "F. R. S." So valued a member did he soon become that in 1741 the fortieth volume of its Transactions was dedicated to him in a long and highly appreciative tribute.

Winthrop entertained wildly exaggerated notions of the mineral wealth to be found upon his estates, and his grandfather's lack of success could not dissuade him from entering upon the most ambitious schemes for the development of his properties. His optimism as a mining speculator was invincible. He was probably the first of the Winthrops who had actually visited Tantiusques, for it was he who, at the age of 34, had accompanied Capt. John Chandler, when he "layd it out in a sort of triangular square." A second map of this same survey is preserved, a map which Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., asserts is "wholly in the handwriting of John Winthrop, F. R. S." It is signed "J. C. Jun^r Surveyor," and dated "Octob^r y^e 11th —," — the year being carefully erased. The boundary points have obviously been pricked through this paper, and its dimensions are identical with those of Chandler's map. Yet it differs in some interesting particulars. The Woodstock surveyor took pains to designate the character of the soil in various parts of the tract; Winthrop's map not only reproduces most of these data, but it is further embellished with such entries as the following:

Rare fishing in this Pond.

Rich Lead Oar.

A place of good copper Oar.

Iron Mines.

Here is a Heavy Black Stone w^{ch} is Rich in Tinn & D^{na}.

On this side of the Hill is small Veins of pure Silver.

Granates Mountain and a fine sort of Greash Stone w^{ch} contain¹ ☉

And all this in a tract of a few thousand acres within twenty-five miles of this spot! It would be interesting to know beneath whose eyes it was Winthrop's intention that this map should pass. It is not without significance that everyone of these remarkable entries—not one of which appears upon Chandler's map,—is written in an ink entirely different from that of the map, and of its other notes.

Winthrop's first move in entering upon his project was to secure information as to the market for graphite upon the Continent. For this purpose he employed a crotchety ex-sea-captain, named John Morke, who represented himself to be a Swedish engineer, and who had previously served Winthrop and the Duke of Hamilton in some of their joint business transactions. His first report, from Rotterdam, was "what Incoregesment I meet with hear is about as good as all the rest and verry Endefrant is the best either to despose of a quantity and small prise."² Three weeks later he writes: "What I have Engaged for allready with what its likely to Increase I believe will amount to about one hundred and fifty Tun of black Lead yearly to Sopply France and Holland, and at a good price, above £100 p^r Tun; and I find very Considerable Encouragement for your other Mines as Tin &c., and hope you will fix on our Speedy proceeding at my return that I may as Soon as pasable Sett out for america."³ From later developments it seems highly improbable that Morke had in reality contracted for the sale of a single ton of black lead, and the price which he here quotes is at least five times as high as that quoted to Winthrop three years later by a Hamburg commission merchant who was in position to know whereof he spoke. It was upon such misinformation as this that Winthrop's schemes were based.

¹ D^{na} (Diana) or the crescent, and the circle, Dr. Edward Everett Hale reminds me, were the alchemistic symbols for *silver* and *gold*, respectively.

² Oct. 5, 1736. ³ Oct. 26, 1736.

In August of the following year Winthrop engaged Morke to act as his steward at the mine. On the following day he entered into a contract with a young London merchant, named Samuel Sparrow, by virtue of which he (Sparrow) was to transport and bring the black lead from the mine and land of Tantiusques, and within six years was to pay to Winthrop seven-eighths of the net produce of the sale of 500 tons, retaining the other one-eighth "in Barr of all Comission whatever for my whole care and service," and also, apparently, in compensation for an advance of £1000 towards the furthering of the enterprise. Winthrop, on his part, in consideration of Sparrow's advances and management, pledged himself to deliver to Sparrow for sale 500 tons of black lead within six years. An advance of money on similar terms was also made by one Jeremiah Hunt, a London Doctor of Divinity.

The very next day Sparrow and Morke set sail for America; they arrived in New London after a stormy passage of nine weeks. Their coming and their errand proved an unpleasant surprise to Madame Winthrop, a woman of sound sense and business capacity, who from the first had little confidence in this mining venture. Without delay they went to the mine. There the difficulties in their way began to appear. The old workings were covered with rubbish and water, in some places fourteen feet deep. The ore, though of good quality, lay deep in small veins, in very hard rock. Transportation charges were enormous: it cost them £13. 10s. to get their two cart-loads of tools and goods taken to Woodstock, and there, ten miles from their goal, they had to store them for the winter, as no cart-way could be found over Breakneck Hill. The Winthrop family showed little inclination to advance money or to co-operate with them, and the goods which Sparrow had brought found but a slow market.

Life at the mine was far from luxurious. Morke presently wrote to Madam Hyde,—Winthrop's cousin, and the keeper

of his house in London,—asking her to “halp me to a Small repair of a fue nececaris as I havin ben so constanly tearing and haking my Smal Stok out, as Shoos, buts, and my rof traveling things to repare the which a Smal pees of Cours or Strong Check lining—Some whit, for myself and my folk, eithe of Som Cheep Irish lining or others—a pr. or 2 of good second hand blankits, a Sett of Copping Glasses and the tuls—and a good Secon hand Bible, large print with y^e pokrefy in it.” (Apocrypha!) He sends also for some dress goods for his wife, “if ther should be more Corn in Egept to spare,” and adds: “if you tak the trubl to lett Honnist Thomas bespeek my Shoos, of Mr. Dicks by turn still I know he’ll mak them strong My Sise is one Sise beger then M^r Sparows. and somthing wider over the tooes by resen of Corns if a pare or two to be for my wif and Dafter say wif sisé is ner your and my daufters a sis beger but requers to be strong for boston streets is verry Ruff.” He ends his postscript with the further request: “be so good to send me also a lettel strong strip Cuton and lining to mak me west Cots trousers of to work in the heat or mins withall for them and my Stokings and Cours things is all most gon to pot.”¹

The mine was located in a wilderness about which settlements were only just beginning, and the settlers had their grievances against Winthrop, and were not over-friendly in their dealings with his workmen. Especially in Brimfield were there turbulent elements, ever ready to take a hand in disturbances that would trouble Winthrop. But occasions of discord were not wanting nearer home; the respective responsibilities of Sparrow and Morke were ill defined, and this gave rise to not a little friction between them. Even after Sparrow had returned to England with the first consignment of black lead, Morke was still keeping things in a turmoil. Winthrop’s eighteen-year-old son went up to the mine on a visit, and promptly sent word to his mother:

¹ Oct. 26, 1738.

"At my arrival Contrary to my Expectation I meet with verry Cold Treatment from Cap^t Morke, and after many hot words passing between us he Told me it was his house and that I had no buisness their to act any Thing but immediately under him—the Same Day I Came he went to Brimfield in a great Passion, where he had got a Club of Irishmen who are his advisers and went to y^e Justice of y^e Peace and Shoed his Power from my father and Indeavr^d to get false witnesses to bring an action against M^r Wright for Defaming of him." The stores were running low: "as for y^e Rum their is about three gallons Left and no more and two of molases and halfe a barril of Porke." Young Winthrop thought it would be best to remove what lead had been dug—about eight hundred weight—to the house of a neighbor, where one of the workmen might live until further orders, going to the mine "Three times in a weeke to See how he (Morke) Carries on." He adds: "and as for my Part I would not live in y^e manner I do might I have a million of money, for Their is not an our in y^e Day but their is hot words."¹

But it soon became evident that "a million of money" was not likely to be forthcoming. Sparrow had already returned to England, taking with him about a ton and three quarters of black lead. This, he sent word to America, proved to be not up to the quality of the English black lead, and the highest price he could secure was 4d. a pound.² Yet Winthrop seems to have been carried away by the actual arrival of graphite from his mine; he is also apparently suspicious of Sparrow. Only a fortnight after Sparrow made his discouraging report, Winthrop wrote to Morke: "The Black Lead you have Dugg and Sent over proves Extraordinary, and is certainly the Best that is known in the World, it is admired by all Disinterested and Undesigneing persons, thō there is some people that have private Views wou'd seem to slight and Undervalue it. But

¹ Dec. 11, 1738. ² Feb. 6, 1738-9.

I doe assure you it containes a Fifth part Silver, but this you must keep as a secret and not talke to any body about it further then it is to make pencills to marke downe the Sins of the People." He then urges his steward to build a large storehouse; to fence in about a mile square at the mine; to turn aside the bridle-path, that their work may be more private. He assures him that he shall have a stock of milch cows and breeding swine, and reminds him: "what ever you meet with that is Uncommon or that looks like a Rarety or Curiosity, Remember that you are to preserve it for me." He bids Morke disregard all "Tittle Tattle w^{ch} is always Hatchet in Hell, with Designes to disturbe & prevent all good Undertakeings." This extraordinary letter closes with the statement: "Mr. Agate was with me this Morning and is pleased to See a peice of the Black Lead you sent over, and says he sells that w^{ch} does not look so well for Sixteen shillings a pound."¹ This letter with address and signature torn off is among these Winthrop documents. It is unmistakably in the handwriting of John Winthrop, F. R. S. Possibly before he had opportunity to send it, his bubble of hope was pricked by a letter from a commission merchant in Hamburg, of whom he had made inquiry, and who within less than a week of the writing of the above letter makes timely report that in Germany the maximum price for black lead is sixteen shillings not for one pound, but for one *hundred* pounds. The letter is addressed to a common friend; he adds: "if Mr. Winthrop has a mine of it he had best keep that a Secrett & not send above Twenty Tons of it at a tyme for fear of runing downe y^e price."² Just a month later the same merchant writes: "I have now your favour of y^e 4 Inst. by w^{ch} See the black lead is at a great price w^{ch} you, So that much of it wou'd not readily Sell here, if of y^e finest Sort a Little of it may be put of."³ To Winthrop he writes directly: "the black

¹ Feb. 20, 1738-9.

² Feb. 24, 1739, Hamburg. W. Burrowes to Cap^t W^m Walker at the house of John Winthrop, London. ³ March 24, 1739.

Lead is too Dear to Send much of it here, you may Send about 100^{lb} of it for a tryall in a Smale Caske & I'll Endeavor to Serve you therein."

Meantime Sparrow's faith in the mine had undergone a severe strain; but, resolved to make a final trial, he came to America again in the summer of 1740. In the course of the next ten months he succeeded in getting out less than a ton of graphite, and in convincing himself that it would be folly to continue working the mine longer. Yet it was months after he had heard that Sparrow had abandoned this forlorn hope that Winthrop read the following statement before the Royal Society :

<p>"One hundred Ounces of Ore out of the Mine of Potosi in Peru (w^{ch} is six pounds and one Quarter) yields one Ounce and a half of Silver w^{ch} is less than five penny Weight out of a pound of the Ore."</p>	<p>"Mr. Winthrop's black Ore at Tantiusques, out of one hundred Ounces of Ore (w^{ch} is as above six pounds and one quarter) yields Three Ounces and fifteen penny Weight of silver, w^{ch} is Twelve penny Weight out of a pound of the Ore."</p>
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This is in Winthrop's own handwriting, and bears his endorsement: "Jan. 7, 1741, read at y^e Royal Society."¹ Whatever faith Winthrop placed in his own statement must have been rudely dispelled a few months later by the report made to him by a London assayer, who writes :

"I have tried your Samples of Ores, but none of them are of any Value except the Black Lead.

"That which you call a Silver Ore is almost all Iron, nor can any other metal be got from it that will pay the charge of refining; and this you may be Satisfied in, by Calcining a piece of that Ore, then Pound it, and the Loadstone will take it all up; which is full conviction.

¹ Although thus authenticated, the presentation of this statement is not mentioned in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society.

“That which you called a Tin Ore holds no proportion of Metal that is sufficient to defray the expense of refining.

“The Black Lead Silver Ore holds about one Ninetenth part, but it is very hard to Seperate; and I reckon that the value of the Black Lead lost in the operation is more than the value of the Silver.”¹

As to the occurrence of silver, modern investigation is more positive. The president of the company which is now developing the property declares: “I have never discovered any silver in the Sturbridge Graphite mine.”² The former superintendent, a mining engineer of scientific training, says that he never saw any trace of silver-bearing graphite ore in that vicinity, nor had he found any galena; pyrites, carrying some silver, he had seen, but in very inappreciable quantities.³

More than half of the volume, “The Tale of Tantiusques” is taken up with letters and legal documents bearing upon controversies arising out of Winthrop’s contracts with Morke and with Sparrow. They afford but inadequate material for getting at the real merits of the question; the difficulty is not merely that we have but one side of the correspondence: there never was any other side, for Winthrop’s policy, like that of Talleyrand, was: “Never write a letter; never destroy one.” Just as soon as his suspicion was aroused or as he scented trouble with a business associate, his letter-writing to that man was at an end, no matter how pathetic or how importunate the appeals for an explanation or an adjustment of the difficulty.

Morke had returned to London in February, 1741, and straightway began urging a settlement of his claims. As Winthrop ignored his every letter, he turned his attention to Madam Hyde, hoping through her to influence her cousin.

¹ 1742, Oct. 27. Letter of William Thinn to John Winthrop. Repeated inquiries at the end of the letter for the name and address of the man who had been at the mine and secured this ore may have aroused Winthrop’s suspicion that the report was not trustworthy.

² Letters of Edgar S. Hill, Esq., Oct. 10, 1901; March 19, 1902.

³ Mr. Mortimer A. Sears, Oct. 7, 1901.

His style was not lacking in vigor and picturesqueness ; his "rash expretions" in one letter gave particular offence, for there he ventured to say : "If I had not a New England Colledge Education, I have an Honist, Christian, Usefull one. . . . if I was not the fagg End of y^e old Honourable John Winthrop, Esq^r, I ame of the Honourable & most faimus Lord Tyge Brath (Tycho Brahe !) : and all this adds nothing, not eaven one Singall Ench to my hoyght."¹ His mood is in constant change ; now he pleads for an amicable settlement for the sake of his destitute wife and child ; now he protests his loyalty to Mr. Winthrop, and his ability to do him the utmost service ; but now, on the other hand, his words take the tone of the most arrant blackmailer ; he threatens to expose Winthrop's secrets to his creditors, taunts him with living in the best-guarded house in London, and with not daring to be seen in the street, and threatens to have him hauled out of his own bed by the constable, unless he settles his account. So the letters run for nearly four years until the controversy was finally brought up in court, and, as Winthrop expressed it, in writing to his son, Morke was "cast."

Meantime Sparrow, too, at first very courteously, but later with great persistence, had been demanding a settlement. Presently suit was brought against Winthrop in New London both by Sparrow and by Madam Hunt, the widow of the London Doctor of Divinity who had advanced money for the Tantiusques venture. Sparrow claimed that he was entitled to one-eighth of the net produce of the sale of 500 tons of black lead, since by his contract he was bound only to *transport* and *sell* the lead, which Winthrop by his contract was bound to *deliver* to him. Winthrop's contention, on the other hand, was that he was under no obligation to deliver the lead except as it lay in the mountain, and that by verbal agreement it was explicitly stipulated that Sparrow was to do the digging. Madam Hyde,

¹ Oct. 19, 1741.

a witness to the contract, deposed that when Sparrow and his associate brought the form of contract, Winthrop called attention to the omission of that stipulation, and consented to sign only after they had freely acknowledged the rightfulness of his contention; that they insisted that the omission was an inadvertence due to forgetfulness, and urged that the preparation of other papers would necessitate undesirable delay; and that they assured Mr. Winthrop that no advantage would ever be taken of him by reason of the omission. Sparrow denied the recollection of any pledges of the kind mentioned. The issue between the two it is now impossible to determine. The contract was certainly loosely drawn. Whether Sparrow was a party to artifice in securing for himself from the very beginning this loop-hole, or not, disappointment in the enterprise induced him in the end to avail himself of this technicality in the hope of making good some of his losses. He claimed with entire truth, however, that he had been led into the enterprise upon Winthrop's repeated assurances that the mineral contained one fifth part silver. That Winthrop made this assertion his own writing proves. Sparrow went further, and in a letter to Winthrop's wife—whose confidence and cordial regard Sparrow retained long after his relations with her husband had become painfully strained—declared: "He (Winthrop) shew'd to me an experement with another Mineral (of which he has 1000 Tons upon his Estate) from which he extracted a good deel of silver, and I may venture to say he is still the richest Man in all the Collonies if that experement was not made to deceive but true and fair."¹ Morke is apparently hinting at this same transaction when he writes to Winthrop: "I can sew you some of the lead you or Mistris hyde geve me the mony to purchis in Shoolan a peace of which I Saw'd in Sunder one of which was for a patren given to Mr. Sparow and Comperd it to Myne at the Mins."² It is to be remembered, of

¹ September 24, 1745. ² September 1, 1744.

course, that at the time these charges were made both Morke and Sparrow were in controversy with Winthrop, and hence had some motive for trumping up charges against him. Yet the accusation is not made to influence the opinion of others, but is found in private letters to Winthrop and to his wife. After all, the man who could locate upon his map of Tantiusques not only black lead, but iron, lead, copper, tin, silver and gold as well, would have been strangely lacking in ingenuity if he could not have provided the samples of ore for which the map called.

These prolonged controversies had an injurious effect upon Mr. Winthrop's health; he died in London, August 1, 1747. The suits were soon renewed against his widow, but in February, 1748-9, decision in both cases was given in her favor, and costs were awarded to her.¹ According to the record an appeal was taken in both cases, but efforts to trace later proceedings have proved without result.

For many years "y^e hill at Tantousq, in which the black leade is," still remained in the possession of the Winthrop family, but there is no record of their having made further attempts to develop the mine which had produced little else than the disappointment of the fondest hopes.²

APPENDIX.

Materials for the later story of the mine are both scattered and scanty; nor do they afford much that is of interest. In the years 1828 and 1829 Frederick Tudor of Boston, who later amassed a large fortune in the ice business, secured possession of the mine by the successive

¹ These data were secured through the courtesy of John C. Averill, Esq., Clerk of the Superior Court of New London County. A letter from Gurdon Baltonstall, Jr., to John Still Winthrop, 23 August, 1750, implies that in a higher court a decision had been rendered in favor of Madame Hunt. Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., is of the opinion that the case with Sparrow was compromised.

² "The latest reference of any kind which I find among the Winthrop Papers in my possession is in the Inventory of John Still Winthrop, in 1776." Robert C. Winthrop, Jr. The item is as follows: "3184 acres of land, by estimation, being what still remains unsold of the Lead Mine Tract, so-called, appraised at \$265.4."

purchase of seven pieces of land, aggregating over 127 acres, for which about \$1,200 was paid. For some years Mr. Tudor operated the mine as an adjunct to his manufacturing of crucibles, one of his first enterprises. In 1833, Mr. Tudor transferred the lands and mine to the Ixion Black Lead Factory; six years later, however, that company (July 10, 1839) authorized its agent to sell the whole property back to Mr. Tudor, in whose hands it remained until his death. At times he operated it himself; at others he leased it, for some years to a man named Marcy, who worked it on shares. There are still living two men who tell interesting stories of work in the mine in the early sixties. The property remained a part of the Tudor estate until 1889, when it was bought for a small sum by Samuel L. Thompson of Sturbridge, who apparently valued it principally as woodland. October 23, 1893, the "Lead Mine Lot," including the mine and seventy-seven acres of land was bought by Francis L. Chapin of Southbridge, and soon the Massachusetts Graphite Company was organized for the purpose of developing this ancient property. To this Company the tract of land containing the lead mine was deeded April 1, 1902.

Hitherto the mining methods employed have been very primitive. The principal vein of graphite was inclined at an angle of about 70°. In following it an open cut was made some five hundred feet in length, from twenty to fifty feet in height, and about six feet wide. This deep cut has always been a source of danger; on the thirteenth of October, 1830, the fall of a great mass of the overhanging rock crushed to death two workmen and crippled for life a third. The mine is not far from the shore of Lead Mine Pond, and quite a little above it. An adit was therefore made, along which upon a wooden track were run cars, from which the refuse was dumped down the bank into the pond. The adit was not low enough to drain the mine into the pond, and much difficulty was experienced from the water which at times filled the cut.

The present company has run a tunnel some fifty yards into the hill; from this, within a few weeks of the present writing, it is proposed to begin the sinking of a shaft to a considerable depth, from which it will be convenient to drift in various directions. Prospecting has been undertaken upon other parts of the property, and one short open cut has been made in which graphite of remarkable excellence was encountered.

NOTE. For letters containing much information of service in the preparation of this paper, the writer is indebted, in addition to the persons whose services have already been acknowledged, to Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., George A. Dary, Esq., and Edgar S. Hill, Esq., of Boston, and Mr. Frederick Tudor of Brookline.

G. H. H.

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